
Edward Craven Hawtrey


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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM

The INVASION of JULIUS CÆSAR

TO

The REVOLUTION in 1688.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

By DAVID HUME, Esq;

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THE

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLAND.

SEVENTH VOLUME

CHAP. LVII.

Invasion of the Scots. —— Battle of Marston-moor. —— Battle of Cropredy-bridge. —— Essex's forces disarmed. —— Second battle of Newbury. —— Rise and character of the independents. —— Self-denying ordinance. —— Fairfax, Cromwel. —— Treaty of Uxbridge. —— Execution of Laud. —— Page 1

CHAP. LVIII.

Montrole's victories. —— Death of the marquis of Montrole. —— Battle of Naseby. —— Defeat of the Scots at Newark. —— End of the war. —— King delivered up by the Scots. —— Page 43

CHAP. LIX.

Mutiny of the army. —— The King seized by Joyce. —— The army march against the parliament. —— The army subdue the parliament. —— The King flies to the isle of Wight. —— Second civil war. —— Invasion from Scotland. —— The treaty of Newport. —— The civil war ended. —— Insurrection suppressed. —— The King tried, condemned by the army. —— The house purged. —— The King's trial. —— And execution. —— And character. —— Page 84

THE

CONTENTS

OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LVII.

Invasion of the Scots.——Battle of Marston-moor.——Battle of Cropredy-bridge.——Essex's forces disarmed.——Second battle of Newbury.——Rise and character of the independents.——Self-denying ordinance.——Fairfax, Cromwel.——Treaty of Uxbridge.——Execution of Laud. Page 1.

CHAP. LVIII.

Montrose's victories.——The new-model of the army.——Battle of Naseby.——Surrender of Bristol.——The west conquered by Fairfax.——Defeat of Montrose.——Ecclesiastical affairs.——King goes to the Scots at Newark.——End of the war.——King delivered up by the Scots. 43

CHAP. LIX.

Mutiny of the army.——The King seized by Joyce.——The army march against the parliament.——The army subdue the parliament.——The King flies to the isle of Wight.——Second civil war.——Invasion from Scotland.——The treaty of Newport.——The civil war and invasion repressed.——The King seized again by the army.——The house purged.——The King's trial.——And execution.——And character. 84

THE

THE CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND.

OR

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LVII.

Invasion of the Scots. —— Battle of Marston-moor. —— Battle of Cropredy-bridge. —— Essex's forces disarmed. —— Second battle of Newbury. —— Rise and character of the independents. —— Self-denying ordinance. —— Fairfax, Cromwel. —— Treaty of Uxbridge. —— Execution of Laud. —— Page 1.

CHAP. LVIII.

Montrole's victories. —— Battle of Naseby. —— Defeat of the royal army. —— Battle of Newbury. —— Defeat of Montrole. —— The west conquered by Fairfax. —— Defeat of Montrole. —— Ecclesiastical affairs. —— King goes to the Scots at Newark. —— End of the war. —— King delivered up by the Scots. HUME, Esq; 43

CHAP. LIX.

Mutiny of the army. —— The King seized by Joyce. —— The army march against the parliament. —— The army subdue the parliament. —— The King flies to the isle of Wight. —— Second civil war. —— Invasion from Scotland. —— The treaty of Newport. —— The civil war found invasion reprefled. —— The King treated again by the army. —— The house purged. —— The King's trial. —— And execution. —— And character.

CONTENTS

OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

CHAP. LVII.

Invasion of the Scots.——Battle of Marston-moor.——Battle of Cropredy-bridge.——Essex's forces disarmed.——Second battle of Newbury.——Rise and character of the independents.——Self-denying ordinance.——Fairfax, Cromwel.——Treaty of Uxbridge.——Execution of Laud. Page 1.

CHAP. LVIII.

Montrose's victories.——The new-model of the army.——Battle of Naseby.——Surrender of Bristol.——The west conquered by Fairfax.——Defeat of Montrose.——Ecclesiastical affairs.——King goes to the Scots at Newark.——End of the war.——King delivered up by the Scots. 43

CHAP. LIX.

Mutiny of the army.——The King seized by Joyce.——The army march against the parliament.——The army subdue the parliament.——The King flies to the isle of Wight.——Second civil war.——Invasion from Scotland.——The treaty of Newport.——The civil war and invasion repressed.——The King seized again by the army.——The house purged.——The King's trial.——And execution.——And character. 84

THE

THE COMMONWEALTH.

CHAP. LX.

State of England.——Of Scotland.——Of Ireland.——Levellers suppressed.——Siege of Dublin raised.——Tredah stormed.——Covenanters.——Montrose taken prisoner.——Executed.——Covenanters.——Battle of Dunbar.——Of Worcester.——King's escape.——The Commonwealth.——Dutch war.——Dissolution of the Parliament. 161

CHAP. LXI.

Cromwel's birth and private life.——Barebone's Parliament.——Cromwel made Protector.——Peace with Holland.——A new Parliament——Insurrection of the Royalists.——State of Europe.——War with Spain.——Jamaica conquered.——Success and death of admiral Blake.——Domestic administration of Cromwel.——Humble petition and advice.——Dunkirk taken.——Sickness of the Protector.——His death.——And character. 229

CHAP. LXII.

Richard acknowledged Protector.——A Parliament.——Cabal at Wallingford House.——Richard deposed.——Long parliament or Rump restored.——Conspiracy of the Royalists.——Insurrection.——Suppressed.——Parliament expelled.——Committee of safety.——Foreign affairs.——General Monk.——Monk declares for the Parliament.——Parliament restored.——Monk enters London, declares for a free

free Parliament.——Secluded Members restored.——Long Parliament dissolved.——New Parliament. The Restoration.——Manners and Arts. 300

CHARLES II.

CHAP. LXIII.

New ministry.——Act of Indemnity.——Settlement of the revenue.——Trial and execution of the regicides.——Dissolution of the convention.——Parliament.——Prelacy restored.——Insurrection of the Millenarians.——Affairs of Scotland.——Conference at the Savoy.——Arguments for and against a comprehension.——A new Parliament.——Bishops seats restored.——Corporation act.——Act of uniformity.——King's marriage.——Trial of Vane.——And execution.——Presbyterian clergy ejected.——Dunkirk sold to the French.——Declaration of indulgence.——Decline of Clarendon's credit. 357

CHAP. LXIV.

A new session.——Rupture with Holland.——A new session.——Victory of the English.——Rupture with France.——Rupture with Denmark.——New session.——Sea-fight of four days.——Victory of the English.——Fire of London.——Advances towards peace.——Disgrace at Chatham.——Peace of Breda.——Clarendon's fall,——and banishment.——State of France.——Character of Lewis XIV.——French invasion of the Low Countries.——Negotiations.——Tripple league.——Treaty of Aix-la-chapelle.

la-chapelle.——Affairs of Scotland,——and of Ireland. 404

CHAP. LXV.

A Parliament.——The Cabal.——Their characters.——Their councils.——Alliance with France.——A Parliament.——Coventry act.——Blood's crimes.——Duke declares himself Catholic.——Exchequer shut.——Declaration of indulgence.——Attack of the Smyrna fleet.——War declared with Holland.——Weakneſs of the States.——Battle of Solebay.——Sandwich killed.——Progreſs of the French.——Conſternation of the Dutch.——Prince of Orange Stadtholder.——Maſſacre of the de Wits.——Good conduct of the Prince.——A Parliament.——Declaration of indulgence recalled.——Sea-fight.——Another ſea-fight.——Another ſea-fight.——Congreſs of Cologne.——A Parliament.——Peace with Holland. 460

20 JY 63

THE

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAP. LVII.

Invasion of the Scots.——Battle of Marston-moor, Battle of Cropredy-bridge.——Essex's forces disarmed.——Second battle of Newbury.——Rise and character of the independents.——Self-denying ordinance.——Fairfax, Cromwel.——Treaty of Uxbridge.——Execution of Laud.——

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THE King had hitherto, during the course of the war, obtained many advantages over the parliament, and had raised himself from that low condition, into which he had at first fallen, to be nearly upon an equal footing with his adversaries. Yorkshire, and all the northern counties, were subjected by the Marquess of Newcastle; and, excepting Hull, the parliament was master of no garrison in these quarters. In the west, Plymouth alone, having been in vain besieged by Prince Maurice, resisted the King's authority: And had it not been for the disappointment in the enterprize of Gloucester, the royal garrisons had reached, without interruption, from one end of the kingdom to the other; and had occupied a greater extent of ground,

la-chapelle. —— *Affairs of Scotland,* —— *and of Ireland.* 404

CHAP. LXV.

A Parliament. —— *The Cabal.* —— *Their characters.* —— *Their councils.* —— *Alliance with France.* —— *A Parliament.* —— *Coventry act.* —— *Blood's crimes.* —— *Duke declares himself Catholic.* —— *Exchequer shut.* —— *Declaration of indulgence.* —— *Attack of the Smyrna fleet.* —— *War declared with Holland.* —— *Weakness of the States.* —— *Battle of Solebay.* —— *Sandwich killed.* —— *Progress of the French.* —— *Consternation of the Dutch.* —— *Prince of Orange Stadtholder.* —— *Massacre of the de Wits.* —— *Good conduct of the Prince.* —— *A Parliament.* —— *Declaration of indulgence recalled.* —— *Sea-fight.* —— *Another sea-fight.* —— *Another sea-fight.* —— *Congress of Cologne.* —— *A Parliament.* —— *Peace with Holland.* 460

20 JY 63

THE

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CHAP. LVII.

Invasion of the Scots.——Battle of Marston-moor, Battle of Crapredy-bridge.——Essex's forces disarmed.——Second battle of Newbury.——Rise and character of the independents.——Self-denying ordinance.——Fairfax, Cromwel.——Treaty of Uxbridge.——Execution of Laud.——

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CHAP. LVII.

1644.

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AT the commencement of the civil wars, all Englishmen, who served abroad, were invited over, and treated with extraordinary respect: And most of them, being descended of good families, and by reason of their ab-

[a] Rush. vol. vi. p. 560.

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THE King, that he might make preparations, during the winter, for the enſuing campaign, ſummoned to Oxford all the members of either houſe, who adhered to his intereſts; and endeavoured to avail himſelf of the name of parliament, ſo paſſionately cheriſhed by the Engliſh nation [b]. The houſe of peers was pretty full; and beſides the nobility, employed in different parts of the kingdom, it contained twice as many members as voted at Weſtminſter. The houſe of commons conſiſted of about 140; which amounted not to above half of the other houſe of commons [c].

So extremely light had government hitherto lain upon the people, that the very name of *exciſe* was unknown to them; and among the other evils ariſing from theſe domeſtic wars, was the introduction of that impoſt into England. The parliament at Weſtminſter having voted an exciſe on beer, wine, and other commodities; thoſe at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the King. And in order to enable him the better to recruit his army, they granted him the ſum of

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CHAP. LVII.

1644.

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CHAP. LVII. 1644.

100,000 pounds, to be levied by way of loan upon the subject. The King circulated privy seals, countersigned by the speakers of both houses, requiring the loan of particular sums, from such persons as lived within his quarters [d]. Neither party had as yet got above the pedantry of reproaching their antagonists with these illegal measures.

THE Westminster parliament passed a whimsical ordinance, commanding all the inhabitants of London and the neighbourhood, to retrench a meal a week, and to pay the value of it for the support of the public cause [e]. 'Tis easily imagined, that, provided the money was paid, they troubled themselves very little about the execution of their ordinance.

SUCH was the King's situation, that, in order to restore peace to the nation, he had no occasion to demand any other terms, than to restore the laws and constitution, to replace him in the same rights which had ever been enjoyed by his predecessors, and to re-establish, on its antient basis, the whole frame of government, civil as well as ecclesiastical. And that he might facilitate an end, seemingly so desirable, he offered to employ means equally popular, an universal act of oblivion, and a toleration or indulgence to tender consciences. Nothing therefore could contribute more to his interest, than every discourse of peace, and every discussion of the conditions, upon which that blessing could be obtained. And for this reason, he sollicited a treaty, on all occasions, and desired a conference and mutual examination of pretensions, even when he entertained no hopes, that any conclusion could possibly result from it.

FOR like reasons, the parliament wisely avoided, as much as they could, all advances towards negotiation, and were cautious not to expose too easily to censure

[d] Rush. vol. vi. p. 590.

[e] Dugdale p. 119. Rush. vol. vi. p. 748.

those

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

those high terms, which their apprehensions or their ambition made them previously demand of the King. Tho' their partizans were blinded with the thickest veil of religious prejudices, they dreaded to bring their pretensions to the test, or lay them open before the whole nation. In opposition to the sacred authority of the laws, to the venerable precedents of many ages, they were ashamed to plead nothing but fears and jealousies, which were not avowed by the constitution, and to which, neither the personal character of Charles, so full of virtue, nor his condition, so deprived of all independent authority, seemed to afford any reasonable foundation. Grievances which had been fully redressed; powers, either legal or illegal, which had been entirely abandoned; it seemed unpopular, and invidious, and ungrateful, any farther to insist on.

The King, that he might abate the universal veneration, paid to the name of parliament, had issued a declaration, in which he set forth all the tumults, by which himself and his partizans in both houses, had been driven from London; and he thence inferred, that the assembly at Westminster was no longer a free parliament, and, till its liberty was restored, was intitled to no authority. As this declaration was an obstacle to all treaty, some contrivance seemed requisite, in order to elude it.

A letter was wrote to the Earl of Essex, and subscribed by the Prince, the Duke of York, and forty-three noblemen [f]. They there exhort him to be an instrument for restoring peace, and to promote that happy end with those, by whom he was employed. Essex, though much disgusted with the parliament, though apprehensive of the extremities to which they were driving, though desirous of any reasonable peace; yet was still

[f] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 442. Rush. vol. vi. p. 566. Whitlocke, p. 77.

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

more resolute to preserve an honourable fidelity to the trust reposed in him. He replied, that as the paper sent him neither contained any address to the two houses of parliament, nor any acknowledgment of their authority, he could not communiate it to them. Like proposals were reiterated by the King, during the ensuing campaign, and met still with a like answer from Essex [g].

In order to make another trial for a treaty, the King, this spring, sent another letter directed to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster: But as he also mentioned, in the letter, the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Oxford, and declared that his scope and intention was to make provision that all the members of both houses might securely meet in a full and free convention; the parliament, clearly perceiving the conclusion which was implied, refused all treaty upon such terms [h]. And the King, who knew what small hopes there were of accommodation, would not abandon the pretensions, which he had assumed, nor acknowledge the two houses, more openly, for a free parliament.

This winter the famous Pym died; a man as much hated by the one party, as respected by the other. At London, he was considered as the victim to national liberty, who had abridged his life by incessant labours for the interest of his country [i]: At Oxford, he was believed to have been struck with an uncommon disease, and to have been consumed with vermine; as a mark of divine vengeance, for his multiplied crimes and treasons. He had been so little studious of improving his private fortune in those civil wars, of which he had been one principal author, that the parliament thought themselves obliged, out of gratitude, to pay the debts which he had contract-

[g] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 444. Rush. vol. vi. p. 569, 570. Whitlocke, p. 94. [h] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 449. Whitlocke, p. 79. [i] Ibid. p. 66.

ed.

ed [k]. We now return to the military operations, which, during the winter, were carried on with vigor in ſeveral places, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. CHAP. LVII. 1644.

THE forces, brought from Ireland, were landed at Moſtyne in North-Wales; and being put under the command of Lord Biron, they took the caſtles of Hawarden, Beeſton, Acton, and Deddington-houſe [l]. No place in Cheſhire, or the neighbourhood, now adhered to the parliament, except Nantwich: And to this town Biron laid ſiege during the depth of winter. Sir Thomas Fairfax, alarmed at ſo conſiderable a progreſs, aſſembled an army of 4000 men in Yorkſhire, and having joined Sir William Brereton, was approaching to the camp of the royaliſts. Biron and his ſoldiers, elated with ſucceſſes obtained in Ireland, had entertained the moſt profound contempt for the parliamentary forces; a diſpoſition, which, if confined to the army, may be regarded as a good preſage of victory; but if it extend to the general, is the moſt probable forerunner of a defeat. Fairfax ſuddenly attacked the camp of the royaliſts. The ſwelling of the river by a thaw divided one part of the army from the other. That part expoſed to Fairfax, being beat from their poſt, retired into the church of Acton, and were all taken priſoners: The other retreated with precipitation [m]. And thus was diſſipated or rendered uſeleſs that body of forces, which had been drawn from Ireland; and the parliamentary party revived in thoſe north-weſt counties of England. 25th of Jan.

THE invaſion from Scotland was attended with conſequences of much greater importance. The Scots, having ſummoned in vain the town of Newcaſtle, which was fortified by the vigilance of Sir Thomas Glenham, paſſed the Tyne; and faced the Marqueſs of Newcaſtle, who lay at Durham with an army of 14000 men [n]. Af- Invaſion from Scotland. 22d of Feb.

[k] Journ. 13th of February 1643. [l] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 299.
[m] Ibid. vol. vi. p. 301. [n] Ibid. vol. vi. p. 615.

CHAP. LVII.

1644. ter ſome military operations, in which that general reduced the enemy to difficulties for forage and proviſions, he received intelligence of a great diſaſter, which had befallen his forces in Yorkſhire. Colonel Bellaſis, whom he had left with a conſiderable body of troops, was totally routed at Selby, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had returned from Cheſhire, with his victorious forces [o]. Afraid of being incloſed between two armies, Newcaſtle retreated; and Leven having joined Lord Fairfax, they ſat down before York, in which the army of the royaliſts had ſhut themſelves up. But as the Scots and parliamentary forces were not numerous enough to inveſt ſo large a town, divided by a river, they contented themſelves to incommode it by a looſe blockade; and affairs remained, for ſome time, in ſuſpenſe between theſe oppoſite armies [p].

11th April.

DURING this winter and ſpring, other parts of the kingdom had alſo been harraſſed with war. Hopton, having aſſembled an army of 14000 men, endeavoured to break into Suſſex, Kent, and the ſouthern aſſociation, which ſeemed well diſpoſed to receive him. Waller fell upon him at Cherington, and gave him a defeat [q] of conſiderable importance. In another quarter, ſiege being laid to Newark by the parliamentary forces, Prince Rupert prepared himſelf for relieving a town of ſuch conſequence, which alone preſerved the communication open between the King's ſouthern and northern quarters [r]. With a ſmall force, but that animated by his active courage, he broke thro' the enemy, relieved the town, and totally diſſipated that army of the parliament [s].

BUT tho' fortune ſeemed to have divided her favours between the parties, the King found himſelf, in the main, a conſiderable loſer by this winter-campaign; and he prognoſticated a ſtill worſe event from the enſuing

[o] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 638. [p] Ibid. vol. vi. p. 620. [q] 29th of March. [r] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 306. [s] 21ſt of March.

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

ſummer. The preparations of the parliament were great, and much exceeded the ſlender reſources, of which he was poſſeſſed. In the eaſtern aſſociation, they levied 14000 men, under the Earl of Mancheſter, ſeconded by Cromwel [t]. An army of ten thouſand men under Eſſex; another of nearly the ſame force under Waller, were aſſembled in the neighbourhood of London. The former was deſtined to oppoſe the King: The latter was appointed to march into the weſt, where Prince Maurice, with a ſmall army which went continually to decay, was ſpending his time in vain before Lyme, an inconſiderable town upon the ſea-coaſt. The utmoſt efforts of the King could not raiſe above ten thouſand men at Oxford; and on their ſword chiefly, during the campaign, were theſe to depend for ſubſiſtance.

THE Queen, terrified with the dangers, which every way environed her, and afraid of being encloſed in Oxford, in the middle of the kingdom, fled to Exeter, where ſhe hoped to be delivered unmoleſted of the child, of which ſhe was now pregnant, and from whence ſhe had the means of an eaſy eſcape into France, if preſſed by the forces of the enemy. She knew the implacable hatred, which the parliament, on account of her religion and her credit with the King, had all along borne her. Laſt ſummer, the commons had ſent up to the peers an impeachment of high treaſon againſt her; becauſe, in his utmoſt diſtreſſes, ſhe had aſſiſted her huſband with arms and ammunition, which ſhe had bought in Holland [u]. And had ſhe fallen into their hands, neither her ſex, ſhe knew, nor high ſtation, could protect her againſt inſults at leaſt, if not danger, from thoſe haughty republicans, who ſo little affected to conduct themſelves by the maxims of gallantry and politeneſs.

FROM the beginning of theſe diſſenſions, the parliament, 'tis remarkable, had, in all things aſſumed an ex-

[t] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 621. [u] Ibid. vol. vi. p. 321.

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CHAP. LVII.

1644. treme aſcendant over their ſovereign, and had diſplayed a violence and arrogated an authority, which, on his ſide, could not have been compatible, either with his temper or his ſituation. While he ſpoke perpetually of pardoning all *Rebels*; they talked of nothing but the puniſhment of *Delinquents* and *Malignants*: While he offered a toleration and an indulgence to tender conſciences; they threatened the utter extirpation of prelacy: To his profeſſions of lenity, they oppoſed declarations of rigor: And the more the antient tenour of the laws inculcated a reſpectful ſubordination to the crown, the more careful were they, by their lofty pretenſions, to cover that defect, under which they laboured.

THEIR great advantages in the north ſeemed to ſecond their ambition, and finally to promiſe them ſucceſs in their unwarrantable enterprizes. Mancheſter, having taken Lincoln, had united his army to thoſe of Leven and Fairfax; and York was now cloſely beſieged by their combined forces. That town, though vigorouſly defended by Newcaſtle, was reduced to extremity; and the parliamentary generals, after enduring great loſſes and fatigue, flattered themſelves that all their labours would at laſt be crowned by that important conqueſt. On a ſudden, they were alarmed with the approach of Rupert. That gallant Prince, having vigorouſly exerted himſelf in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, had collected a conſiderable army; and joining Sir Charles Lucas, who commanded Newcaſtle's horſe, haſtened to the relief of York with an army of 20,000 men. The Scots and parliamentary generals raiſed the ſiege, and drawing up on Marſton-moor, propoſed to give battle to the royaliſts. Prince Rupert approached the town by another quarter, and interpoſing the river Ouſe between him and the enemy, ſafely joined his forces to thoſe of Newcaſtle. The Marqueſs endeavoured to perſuade him, that, having ſo ſucceſsfully effected his purpoſe, he ought to be contented

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

tented with the preſent advantage, and leave the enemy, now much diminiſhed by their loſſes, and diſcouraged by their ill ſucceſs, to diſſolve by thoſe mutual diſſenſions, which had taken place among them [w]. The Prince, whoſe martial diſpoſition was not ſufficiently tempered with prudence, nor ſoftened by complaiſance, pretending a poſitive order from the King, without deigning to conſult with Newcaſtle, whoſe great merit and ſervices deſerved better treatment, immediately gave orders for battle, and drew out the whole army to Marſton-moor [x]. This action was obſtinately diſputed between the moſt numerous armies, which were engaged during the whole courſe of theſe wars; nor were the forces on each ſide much different in their number. Fifty thouſand Britiſh troops were led to mutual ſlaughter; and the victory ſeemed long undecided between them. Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the royaliſts, was oppoſed to Cromwel [y], who conducted the choice troops of the parliament, enured to danger under that determined leader, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the moſt rigid diſcipline. After a ſharp combat, the cavalry of the royaliſts gave way; and the infantry, who ſtood next them, were likewiſe borne down, and put to flight. Newcaſtle's regiment alone, reſolute to conquer or to periſh, obſtinately kept their ground, and maintained, by their dead bodies, the ſame order, in which they had at firſt been ranged. In the other wing Sir Thomas Fairfax and Colonel Lambert, with ſome troops, broke thro' the royaliſts; and, tranſported by the fury of purſuit, ſoon reached their victorious friends, engaged alſo in purſuit of the enemy. But after that tempeſt was paſt, Lucas, who commanded the royaliſts in this wing, reſtoring order to his broken forces, made a furious attack on the parliamentary cavalry, threw them into diſorder,

2d of July.

Battle of Marſton-Moor.

w Life of the D. of Newcaſtle, p. 40. x Clarendon, vol. v. p. 506.
y Ruſh. part 3. vol. ii. p. 633.

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CHAP. LVII.

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THIS event was in itself, a mighty blow to the King; but proved much more fatal in its consequences. The Marquess of Newcastle was intirely lost to the royal cause. That Nobleman, the ornament of the court and of his order, had been engaged, contrary to the natural bent of his disposition, into these military operations, merely by a high sense of honour and a personal regard to his master. The dangers of war were disregarded by his valour; but its fatigues were oppressive to his natural indolence. Munificent and generous in his expence; polite and elegant in his taste; courteous and humane in his behaviour; he brought a great accession of friends and of credit to the party, which he embraced. But amidst all the hurry of action, his inclinations were secretly drawn to the soft arts of peace, in which he took delight; and the charms of poetry, music, and conversation stole him often from his rougher occupations. He chose Sir William Davenant, an ingenious poet, his lieutenant-general: The other persons, in whom he placed confidence, were more the instruments of his re-

[z] Rush. vol. vi. p. 632. Whitlocke, p. 89.

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When Prince Rupert, contrary to his advice, reſolved on this battle, and iſſued all orders without communicating his intentions to him; he took the field, but, he ſaid, intirely as a volunteer; and, except by his perſonal courage, which ſhone out with luſtre, he had no ſhare in the action. Enraged to find, that all his ſucceſsful labours were rendered abortive by one act of fatal temerity, terrified with the proſpect of renewing all his pains and fatigue, he reſolved no longer to maintain the few reſources which remained to a deſperate cauſe, and thought, that the ſame regard to honour, which had at firſt called him to arms, now required him to abandon a party, where he met with ſuch unworthy treatment. Next morning early, he ſent word to the Prince, that he was inſtantly to leave the kingdom; and without delay, he went to Scarborough, where he found a veſſel, which carried him beyond ſea. During the enſuing years, till the reſtoration, he lived abroad in great neceſſity, and ſaw with indifference his opulent fortune ſequeſtered by thoſe who aſſumed the government of England. He diſdained, by ſubmiſſion or compoſition, to ſhow obeiſance to their uſurped authority; and the leaſt favourable cenſors of his merit allowed, that the fidelity and ſervices of a whole life, had ſufficiently atoned for one raſh action, into which his paſſion had betrayed him [b].

Prince Rupert with equal precipitation drew off the remains of his army, and retired into Lancaſhire. Glenham, in a few days, was obliged to ſurrender York; and he marched out his garriſon with all the honours of 16th of July.

[a] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 507, 508. ſee Warwick. [b] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 511.

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WHILE theſe events paſſed in the north, the King's affairs in the ſouth were conducted with more ſucceſs and more ability. Ruthven, a Scotſman, who had been created Earl of Brentford, acted, under the King, as general.

THE parliament ſoon compleated their two armies commanded by Eſſex and Waller. The great zeal of the city facilitated this undertaking. Many ſpeeches were made to the citizens, by the parliamentary leaders, in order to excite their ardour. Hollis, in particular, exhorted them not to ſpare, on this important occaſion, either their purſes, their perſons, or their prayers [f]; and they were ſufficiently liberal, it muſt be confeſſed, in all theſe contributions. The two generals had orders to march with their combined armies towards Oxford; and, if the King ſhut himſelf up in that city, to lay ſiege to it, and by one enterprize to put a period to the war. The King, leaving a numerous garriſon in Oxford, paſſed with dexterity between the two armies, which had taken Abingdon and had encloſed him on both ſides [g]. He marched towards Worceſter; and Waller received orders from Eſſex to follow him and watch his motions;

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CHAP. LVII.

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Battle of Cropredy-bridge.

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CHAP. LVII.

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CHAP. LVII.

1644.

other; Sir Richard Granville on a third. Eſſex, Robarts, and ſome of the principal officers, eſcaped in a boat to Plymouth: Balfour with his horſe paſſed the King's guards, in a thick miſt, and got ſafely to the garriſons of his own party. The foot under Skippon were obliged to ſurrender their arms, artillery, baggage and ammunition; and being conducted to the parliament's quarters, were diſmiſſed. By this advantage, which was much boaſted of, the King, beſides the honour of the enterprize, obtained what he ſtood extremely in need of: The parliament, having preſerved the men, loſt what they could eaſily repair [1].

1ſt of Sept.

Eſſex's forces diſarmed.

No ſooner did this news reach London, than the committee of the two kingdoms voted thanks to Eſſex for his fidelity, courage, and conduct; and this method of proceeding, no leſs politic than magnanimous, the parliament preſerved through the whole courſe of the war. Equally indulgent to their friends and rigorous to their enemies, they employed, with ſucceſs, theſe two powerful engines of reward and puniſhment, in confirmation of their authority.

THAT the King might have leſs reaſon to exult in the advantages, which he had obtained in the weſt, the parliament oppoſed to him very numerous forces. Having armed anew Eſſex's ſubdued, but not diſheartned troops, they ordered Mancheſter and Cromwel to march with their recruited forces from the eaſtern aſſociation; and joining their armies to thoſe of Waller and Middleton, as well as of Eſſex, offer battle to the King. At Newbury, where Charles choſe his poſt, they attacked him with great vigour; and that town was a ſecond time the ſcene of the bloody animoſities of the Engliſh. Eſſex's ſoldiers, exhorting one another to repair their broken honour, and revenge the diſgrace of Leſtithiel,

Second battle of Newbury.

27th of Oct.

[1] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 699, &c. Whitlocke, p. 98. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 524, 525. Sir Edward Walker, p. 69, 70, &c.

made

made an impetuous assault on the royalists; and having recovered some of their cannon, lost in Cornwall, could not forbear embracing them with tears of joy. Though the King's troops defended themselves with great valour, they were overpower'd by numbers; and the night came very seasonably to their relief, and prevented a total overthrow. Charles leaving his baggage and cannon in Dennington-castle, near Newbury, forthwith retreated to Wallingford, and from thence to Oxford. There Prince Rupert and the Earl of Northampton joined him, with considerable bodies of cavalry. Strengthened by this re-inforcement, he ventured to advance towards the enemy, now employed before Dennington-castle [k]. Essex, detained by sickness, had not joined the army, since his misfortune in Cornwall. Manchester who commanded, though his forces were much superior to those of the King, declined an engagement, and rejected Cromwel's advice, who earnestly pressed him not to neglect so favourable an opportunity of finishing the war. The King's army, by bringing off their cannon from Dennington-castle, in the face of the enemy, seemed sufficiently to have repaired the honour, which they had lost at Newbury; and Charles having the satisfaction to excite, between Manchester and Cromwel, equal animosities with those which formerly took place between Essex and Waller [l], distributed his army into winter-quarters.

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

9th of Nov.

23d of Nov.

Those contests among the parliamentary generals, which had disturbed their military operations, were renewed in London during the winter; and each being supported by his own faction, their mutual reproaches and accusations agitated the whole city and parliament. There had long prevailed, in that party, a secret distinction, which, though the dread of the King's power had hitherto suppressed it, yet, in proportion as the hopes of

k Rush. vol. vi. p. 721, &c. l Ibid. vol. 7. p. 1.

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

ſucceſs became nearer and more immediate, began to diſcover itſelf, with high conteſt and animoſity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had, at firſt, taken ſhelter and concealed themſelves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now evidently appeared a diſtinct party, and betrayed very different views and pretenſions. We muſt here endeavour to explain the genius of this party, and of its leaders, who henceforth occupy the ſcene of action.

Riſe and character of the independents.

DURING thoſe times, when the enthuſiaſtic ſpirit met with ſuch honour and encouragement, and was the immediate means of diſtinction and preferment; it was impoſſible to ſet bounds to theſe holy fervors, or confine within any natural limits, what was directed towards an infinite and a ſupernatural object. Every man, as prompted by the warmth of his temper, excited by emulation, or ſupported by his habits of hypocriſy, endeavoured to diſtinguiſh himſelf beyond his fellows, and to arrive at a higher pitch of ſaintſhip and perfection. In proportion to its degrees of fanaticiſm, each ſect became dangerous and deſtructive; and as the independents went a note higher than the preſbyterians, they could leſs be reſtrained within any bounds of temper and moderation. From this diſtinction, as from a firſt principle, were derived, by a neceſſary conſequence, all the other differences of theſe two ſects.

THE independents rejected all eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, and would admit of no church courts, no government among paſtors, no interpoſition of the magiſtrate in ſpiritual concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any ſyſtem of doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by ſpiritual ties, compoſed, within itſelf, a ſeparate church, and exerciſed a juriſdiction, but one devoid of temporal ſanctions, over its own paſtor and its

own members. The election alone of the congregation was sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character; and as all essential distinction was denied between the laity and the clergy, no ceremony, no institution, no vocation, no imposition of hands, was supposed, as in all other churches, to be requisite to convey a right to the holy order. The enthusiasm of the presbyterians led them to shake off the authority of prelates, to reject the restraint of liturgies, to retrench ceremonies, to limit the riches and authority of the priestly office: The fanaticism of the independents, exalted to a higher pitch, abolished all ecclesiastical government, disdained all creeds and systems, rejected every ceremony, and confounded each rank and order. The soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervors of zeal, and guided by the illapses of the spirit, gave himself up to an inward and superior direction, and was consecrated, in a manner, by an immediate intercourse and communication with Heaven.

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

The catholics, pretending to an infallible guide, had justified, upon that principle, their doctrine and practice of persecution: The presbyterians, imagining that such clear and certain tenets, as they themselves adopted, could be rejected only from a criminal and pertinacious obstinacy, had hitherto gratified, to the full, their bigotted zeal in a like doctrine and practice: The independents, from the extremity of the same zeal, were led into the milder principles of toleration. Their mind, set afloat in the wide sea of inspiration, could confine itself within no certain limits; and the same variations, in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others. Of all christian sects, this was the first, which, during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration; and, 'tis remarkable, that so reasonable a doctrine owed its origin, not to reasoning, but to the height of extravagance and fanaticism.

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

POPERY and prelacy alone, whoſe genius, they thought, tended towards ſuperſtition, the independents were inclined to treat with rigour. The doctrines too of fate or deſtiny, they were apt to deem eſſential to all religion. In theſe rigid opinions, the whole ſectaries, amidſt all their other differences, unanimouſly concurred.

THE political ſyſtem of the independents kept pace with their religious. Not contented with confining, to very narrow limits, the power of their ſovereign, and reducing the king to the rank of firſt magiſtrate; which was the project of the preſbyterians; this ſect, more ardent in the purſuit of liberty, aſpired to a total abolition of the monarchy, and even of the ariſtocracy; and projected an intire equality of rank and order, in a republic, quite free and independent. In conſequence of this ſcheme, they were declared enemies to all propoſals for peace, except on ſuch terms as, they knew, it was impoſſible to obtain; and they adhered to that maxim, which is, in the main, prudent and political, that whoever draws the ſword againſt his ſovereign, ſhould throw away the ſcabbard. By terrifying others with the fear of vengeance from the injured prince, they had engaged greater numbers into the oppoſition againſt peace, and had adopted their other principles with regard to government and religion. And the great ſucceſs, which had already attended the arms of the parliament, and the greater, which was ſoon expected, confirmed them ſtill further in this obſtinacy.

SIR Harry Vane, Oliver Cromwel, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, the ſollicitor-general, were regarded as the leaders of the independents. The Earl of Eſſex, diſguſted with a war, of which he began to foreſee the pernicious conſequences, adhered to the preſbyterians, and promoted every reaſonable plan of accommodation.

commodation. The Earl of Northumberland, fond of his rank and dignity, regarded with horror a ſcheme, which, if it took place, would confound himſelf and his family with the loweſt in the kingdom. The Earls of Warwic, and Denbigh, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Waller, Hollis, Maſſey, Whitelocke, Mainard, Glyn, had embraced the ſame ſentiments. In the parliament, a conſiderable majority, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the preſbyterian party; and it was only by cunning and deceit at firſt, and afterwards by violence, that the independents could entertain any hopes of ſucceſs. CHAP. LVII. 1644.

THE Earl of Mancheſter, provoked at the violent impeachment, which the King had lodged againſt him, had long forwarded the war with great alacrity; but, being a man of humanity and good principles, the view of public calamities, and the proſpect of a total ſubverſion of government, began to moderate his ardor, and inclined him to promote peace on any ſafe or honourable terms. He was even ſuſpected, in the field, not to have puſhed to the utmoſt againſt the King the advantages, obtained by the arms of the parliament; and Cromwel, in the public debates, revived the accuſation, that he had wilfully neglected at Dennington-caſtle a favourable opportunity of finiſhing the war by a total defeat of the royaliſts. "I ſhowed him evidently," ſaid Cromwel, "how this ſucceſs might be obtained; "and only deſired leave, with my own brigade of horſe, "to charge the King's army in their retreat; leaving "it in the Earl's choice, if he thought proper, to re- "main neuter with the reſt of his forces: But, not- "withſtanding all my importunity, he poſitively and "obſtinately refuſed his conſent; and gave no other "reaſon but that, if we met with a defeat, there was "an end of our pretenſions: We ſhould all be rebels

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

"and traitors, and be executed and forfeited by the "law [m]?"

MANCHESTER, by way of recrimination, informed the parliament, that at another time, Cromwel having propoſed ſome ſcheme, which it ſeemed improbable the parliament would agree to, he inſiſted and ſaid, *My Lord, if you will ſtick firm to honeſt men, you ſhall find yourſelf at the head of an army, which will give law both to king and parliament.* "This diſcourſe," continued Manchester, "made the greater impreſſion on me, becauſe "I knew the lieutenant-general to be a man of very "deep deſigns; and he has even ventured to tell me, "that it never would be well with England till I was "Mr. Montague, and there was ne'er a lord or peer in "the kingdom [n]." So full was Cromwel of theſe re- "publican projects, that notwithſtanding his habits of profound hypocriſy, he could not ſo carefully guard his expreſſions, but that ſometimes his favourite notions would eſcape him.

THESE violent diſſentions brought matters to extremity, and puſhed the independents to the execution of their deſigns. The preſent generals, they thought, were more deſirous of protracting than finiſhing the war; and having entertained a ſcheme for preſerving ſtill ſome ballance in the conſtitution, they were afraid of intirely ſubduing the King, and reducing him to a condition, where he ſhould be intitled to aſk no conceſſions. A new model alone of the army would bring compleat victory to the parliament, and free the nation from thoſe calamities, under which it laboured. But how to effect this project was the difficulty. The authority, as well as merits of Eſſex, was very great with the parliament. Not only he had ſerved them all along with the moſt exact and ſcrupulous honour: It was, in ſome meaſure, to be aſcribed to his popularity, that they had ever been

m Clarendon, vol. v. p. 561.

n Ibid. vol. v. p. 562.

enabled

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

enabled to levy an army or make head againſt the royal cauſe. Mancheſter, Warwic, and the other commanders had likewiſe great credit with the public; nor were there any hopes of prevailing over them, but by laying the plan of an oblique and artificial attack, which would conceal the real purpoſe of their antagoniſts. The Scots and Scots commiſſioners, jealous of the progreſs of the independents, were a new obſtacle; which, without the utmoſt art and ſubtlety, it would be difficult to ſurmount [o]. The methods by which this intrigue was conducted, are ſo ſingular, and mark ſo well the genius of the age, that we ſhall give a detail of them, as they are delivered by Lord Clarendon [p].

A FAST, on the laſt Wedneſday of every month, had been ordered by the parliament at the beginning of theſe commotions; and their preachers, on that day, kept alive, by their vehement declamations, the popular prejudices entertained againſt the King, againſt prelacy, and againſt popery. The King, that he might combat the parliament with their own weapons, appointed likewiſe a monthly faſt, where the people ſhould be inſtructed in the duties of loyalty and of ſubmiſſion to the higher powers; and he choſe the ſecond Friday of every month for the devotion of the royaliſts [q]. It was now propoſed and carried in parliament, by the independents, that a new and more ſolemn faſt ſhould be voted; when they ſhould implore the divine aſſiſtance for extricating them from thoſe perplexities, in which they were at preſent involved. On that day, the preachers, after many political prayers, took care to treat of the reigning diviſions in the parliament, and aſcribed them entirely to the ſelfiſh ends, purſued by the members. In the hands of thoſe members, they ſaid, are lodged all the conſiderable commands of the army, all the profitable offices in the civil

o Clarendon, vol. v. p. 562.
p Ibid. vol, v. p. 565.
q Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 364.

CHAP. LVII. 1644.

adminiſtration: And while the nation is falling every day into poverty, and groans under an inſupportable load of taxes; theſe men multiply poſſeſſions on poſſeſſions, and will, in a little time, be maſters of all the riches in the kingdom. That ſuch perſons, who fatten in the calamities of their country, will ever embrace any effectual meaſure for bringing them to a period, or enſuring a final ſucceſs to the war, cannot reaſonably be expected. Lingering expedients alone will be purſued: And operations in the field concurring, in the ſame pernicious end, with deliberations of the cabinet; civil commotions will, for ever, be perpetuated in the nation. After exaggerating theſe diſorders, the miniſters fell again to their prayers; and beſought the Lord that he would take his own work into his own hand; and if the inſtruments, whom he had hitherto employed, were not worthy to bring to a concluſion ſo glorious a deſign, that he would inſpire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, and by eſtabliſhing true religion, put a ſpeedy period to the public miſeries.

ON the day ſubſequent to theſe devout animadverſions, when the parliament met, a new ſpirit appeared in the looks of many. Sir Henry Vane told the commons, That, if ever God appeared to them, it was in the holy ordinances of yeſterday: That, as he was credibly informed by many, who had been auditors in different congregations, the ſame lamentations and diſcourſes, which the godly preachers had made before them, had been heard in other churches: That ſo remarkable a concurrence could proceed only from the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit: That he therefore beſought them, in vindication of their own honour, in conſideration of their duty to God and their country, to lay aſide all private ends, and renounce every office, attended with profit or advantage: That the abſence of ſo many members, occupied in different employments, had rendered

dered the houſe extremely thin, and diminiſhed the authority of their determination: And that he could not forbear, for his own part, the accuſing himſelf as one who enjoyed a gainful office, that of treaſurer of the navy; and though he was poſſeſſed of it before the civil commotions, and owed it not to the favour of the parliament, yet was he ready to reſign it, and to ſacrifice, to the welfare of his country, every conſideration of private intereſt and advantage. CHAP. LVII. 1644.

CROMWEL acted next his part, and commended the preachers for having dealt with them plainly and impartially, and told them of their errors, of which they were ſo unwilling to be inſtructed. Though they dwelt on many things, he ſaid, on which he had never before reflected; yet, upon revolving them, he could not but confeſs, that, till there was a perfect reformation in theſe particulars, nothing which they undertook could poſſibly proſper. The parliament, no doubt, continued he, had done wiſely in the commencement of the war, to engage ſeveral of their members in the moſt dangegerous parts of it; and thereby to ſatisfy the nation, that they intended to ſhare all hazards with the meaneſt of the people. But affairs are now changed. During the progreſs of military operations, there have ariſen, in the parliamentary armies, many excellent officers, who are qualified for higher commands than they are now poſſeſſed of. And though it becomes not men, engaged in ſuch a cauſe, *to put truſt in the arm of fleſh*, yet he could aſſure them, that their troops contained generals, fit to command in any enterprize in Chriſtendom. The army indeed, he was ſorry to ſay, did not correſpond, by its diſcipline, to the merit of the officers; nor were there any hopes, till the preſent vices and diſorders, which prevail among the ſoldiers, were repreſſed by a new model, that their forces would ever be attended with ſignal ſucceſs in any undertaking.

IN

CHAP. LVII.

1644.

In oppoſition to this reaſoning of the independents, many of the preſbyterians ſhowed the inconvenience and dangers of the projected alteration. Whitelocke, in particular, a man of honour, who loved his country, though, in every change of government, he always adhered to the ruling power, ſaid, That, beſides the ingratitude of diſcarding, and that by fraud and ſubtilty, ſo many noble perſons, to whom the parliament had hitherto owed its chief ſupport; they would find it extremely difficult to ſupply the place of men, now formed by experience to command and authority: That the rank alone, poſſeſſed by ſuch as were members of either houſe, prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders: That greater confidence might ſafely be repoſed in men of family and fortune, than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain ſeparate views from thoſe embraced by the perſons, who employed them: That no maxim of policy was more undiſputed, than the neceſſity of preſerving an inſeparable connexion between the civil and military powers, and of retaining the latter in ſtrict ſubordination to the former: That the Greeks and Romans, the wiſeſt and moſt paſſionate lovers of liberty, had ever entruſted to their ſenators the command of armies, and had maintained an unconquerable jealouſy of all mercenary forces: And that thoſe alone whoſe intereſt was involved in that of the public, and who poſſeſſed a vote in the civil deliberations, would ſufficiently reſpect the authority of parliament, and never could be tempted to turn the ſword againſt thoſe, by whom it was committed to them [r].

Self-denying ordinance.

Notwithstanding theſe reaſonings, a committee was choſen to frame what they called the *Self-denying ordinance*, by which the members of both houſes were excluded from all civil and military employments, ex-

[r] Whitlocke, p. 114, 115. Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 6.

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cept a few offices which were ſpecified. This ordinance was the ſubject of great debate, and, for a long time, rent the whole parliament and city into factions. But, at laſt, by the prevalence of envy with ſome; with others, of falſe modeſty; with a great many, of the republican and independent views; it paſſed the houſe of commons, and was ſent to the upper houſe. The peers, though the ſcheme was, in part, levelled againſt their order; though all of them were, at bottom, extremely averſe to it; poſſeſſed ſo little authority, that they durſt not oppoſe the reſolution of the commons; and they thought it better policy, by an unlimited compliance, to ward off that ruin, which they ſaw approaching [s]. The ordinance, therefore, having paſſed both houſes, Eſſex, Warwic, Mancheſter, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and many others, reſigned their commands, and received the thanks of parliament for their good ſervices. A penſion of ten thouſand pounds a year was ſettled on Eſſex. CHAP. LVII. 1644.

It was agreed to recruit the army to 22,000 men; and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general [t]. 'Tis remarkable, that his commiſſion did not run, like that of Eſſex, in the name of the king and parliament, but in that of the parliament alone: And the article of the ſafety of the king's perſon was omitted. So much had the animoſities increaſed between the parties [u]. Cromwel, being a member of the lower houſe, ſhould have been diſcarded with the others; but this impartiality would have diſappointed all the views of thoſe, who had introduced the ſelf-denying ordinance. He was ſaved by a ſubtilty, and by that political craft, in which he was ſo eminent. At the time, when the other officers reſigned their commiſſions, care was taken, that he ſhould be ſent with a body of horſe, in order to relieve Taunton, be- 1645.

[s] Ruſh. vol. vii, p. 8, 15. [t] Whitlocke, p. 118. Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 7. [u] Whitlocke, p. 133.

ſieged

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ſieged

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

ſieged by the royaliſts. His abſence being remarked, orders were diſpatched for his immediate attendance in parliament; and the new general was directed to employ ſome other officer in that ſervice. A ready compliance was feigned; and the very day was named, on which, it was averred, he would take his place in the houſe. But Fairfax having appointed a rendezvous of the army, wrote to the parliament, and deſired leave to retain, for ſome days, Lieutenant-general Cromwel, whoſe advice he ſaid, would be uſeful, in ſupplying the place of thoſe officers, who had reſigned. Shortly after, he begged, with much earneſtneſs, that they would allow Cromwel to ſerve that campaign [w]. And thus the independents, tho' the minority, prevailed by art and cunning over the preſbyterians, and beſtowed the whole military authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax; in reality, upon Cromwel.

Fairfax.

FAIRFAX was a perſon equally eminent for courage and for humanity; and tho' ſtrongly infected with the prejudices or principles, derived from religious and party-zeal, he ſeems never, in the courſe of his public conduct, to have been ſeduced, by private intereſt or ambition, from adhering ſtrictly to theſe principles. Sincere in his profeſſions; diſintereſted in his views; open in his conduct; he had formed one of the moſt ſhining characters of that age; had not the extreme narrowneſs of his genius, in every thing but in war, and his embarraſſed and confuſed elocution, on every occaſion but when he gave orders, diminiſhed the luſtre of his merit, and rendered the part, which he acted, even when inveſted with the ſupreme command, but ſecondary and ſubordinate.

Cromwel.

CROMWEL, by whoſe ſagacity and inſinuation Fairfax was entirely governed, is one of the moſt eminent and moſt ſingular perſonages, which occurs in hiſtory: The ſtrokes of his character are as open and ſtrongly marked,

[w] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 629, 630. Whitlocke, p. 141.

as

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

as the ſchemes of his conduct were, during the time, dark and impenetrable. His extenſive capacity enabled him to form the moſt enlarged projects: His enterprizing genius was not diſmayed with the boldeſt and moſt dangerous. Carried, by his natural temper, to magnanimity, to grandeur, and to an imperious and domineering policy; he yet knew, when neceſſary, to employ the moſt profound diſſimulation, the moſt oblique and refined artifice, the ſemblance of the greateſt moderation and ſimplicity. A friend to juſtice, tho' his public conduct was one continued violation of it; devoted to religion, tho' he perpetually employed it as the inſtrument of his ambition; he was engaged in crimes from the proſpect of ſovereign power, a temptation which is, in general, irreſiſtible to human nature. And by uſing well that authority, which he attained by fraud and violence, he has leſſened, if not overpowered, our deteſtation of his enormities, by our admiration of his ſucceſs and of his genius.

Treaty of Uxbridge.

DURING this important tranſaction of the ſelf-denying ordinance, the negotiations for peace were likewiſe carried on, tho' with ſmall hopes of ſucceſs. The King having ſent two meſſages, one from Eveſham [x], another from Taviſtocke [y], deſiring a treaty, the parliament diſpatched commiſſioners to Oxford, with propoſals, as high as if they had obtained a compleat victory [z]. The advantages gained during the campaign, and the great diſtreſſes of the royaliſts, had much elevated their hopes; and they were reſolved to repoſe no truſt in men, enflamed with the higheſt animoſity againſt them, and who, were they poſſeſſed of power, were fully authorized by law to puniſh all their opponents as rebels and as traitors.

[x] 4th of July, 1644. [y] 8th of Sept. 1644. [z] Dugdale, p. 737. Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 850.

THE

CHAP. LVII.

1645.

ſieged by the royaliſts. His abſence being remarked, orders were diſpatched for his immediate attendance in parliament; and the new general was directed to employ ſome other officer in that ſervice. A ready compliance was feigned; and the very day was named, on which, it was averred, he would take his place in the houſe. But Fairfax having appointed a rendezvous of the army, wrote to the parliament, and deſired leave to retain, for ſome days, Lieutenant-general Cromwel, whoſe advice he ſaid, would be uſeful, in ſupplying the place of thoſe officers, who had reſigned. Shortly after, he begged, with much earneſtneſs, that they would allow Cromwel to ſerve that campaign [w]. And thus the independents, tho' the minority, prevailed by art and cunning over the preſbyterians, and beſtowed the who lemilitary authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax; in reality, upon Cromwel.

Fairfax.

FAIRFAX was a perſon equally eminent for courage and for humanity; and tho' ſtrongly infected with the prejudices or principles, derived from religious and party-zeal, he ſeems never, in the courſe of his public conduct, to have been ſeduced, by private intereſt or ambition, from adhering ſtrictly to theſe principles. Sincere in his profeſſions; diſintereſted in his views; open in his conduct; he had formed one of the moſt ſhining characters of that age; had not the extreme narrowneſs of his genius, in every thing but in war, and his embarraſſed and confuſed elocution, on every occaſion but when he gave orders, diminiſhed the luſtre of his merit, and rendered the part, which he acted, even when inveſted with the ſupreme command, but ſecondary and ſubordinate.

Cromwel.

CROMWEL, by whoſe ſagacity and inſinuation Fairfax was entirely governed, is one of the moſt eminent and moſt ſingular perſonages, which occurs in hiſtory: The ſtrokes of his character are as open and ſtrongly marked,

[w] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 629, 630. Whitlocke, p. 141.

as

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

as the ſchemes of his conduct were, during the time, dark and impenetrable. His extenſive capacity enabled him to form the moſt enlarged projects: His enterprizing genius was not diſmayed with the boldeſt and moſt dangerous. Carried, by his natural temper, to magnanimity, to grandeur, and to an imperious and domineering policy; he yet knew, when neceſſary, to employ the moſt profound diſſimulation, the moſt oblique and refined artifice, the ſemblance of the greateſt moderation and ſimplicity. A friend to juſtice, tho' his public conduct was one continued violation of it; devoted to religion, tho' he perpetually employed it as the inſtrument of his ambition; he was engaged in crimes from the proſpect of ſovereign power, a temptation which is, in general, irreſiſtible to human nature. And by uſing well that authority, which he attained by fraud and violence, he has leſſened, if not overpowered, our deteſtation of his enormities, by our admiration of his ſucceſs and of his genius.

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THE

CHAP. LVII.

1645.

THE King, when he conſidered the propoſals and the diſpoſition of the parliament, could not expect any accommodation, and had no proſpect but of war, or of total ſubmiſſion and ſubjection: Yet, in order to ſatisfy his own party, who were extremely impatient for peace, he agreed to ſend the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Southampton, with an anſwer to the parliament's propoſals, and at the ſame time to deſire a treaty upon their mutual demands and pretenſions [a]. It now became neceſſary for him to retract his former declaration, that the two houſes at Weſtminſter were not a free parliament; and accordingly, he was induced, though with great reluctance, to give them, in his anſwer, the appellation of the parliament of England [b]. But it appeared afterwards, by a letter, which he wrote to the Queen, and of which a copy was taken at the battle of Naſeby, that he ſecretly entered an explanatory proteſtation in his council-book; and he pretended, tho' he had *called* them the parliament, that he had not thereby *acknowledged* them for ſuch [c]. This ſubtlety, which has been frequently objected to Charles, is the moſt noted of thoſe very few inſtances, from which the enemies of this Prince have endeavoured to load him with the imputation of inſincerity; and have inferred that the parliament could repoſe no confidence in his profeſſions and declarations, not even in his laws and ſtatutes. There is, however, it muſt be confeſſed, a difference univerſally avowed between ſimply giving to men the appellation, which they

[a] Whitlocke, p. 110. [b] Ibid. p. 111. Dugdale, p. 748.

[c] His words are, "As for my calling thoſe at London a parliament, I "ſhall refer thee to Digby for particular ſatisfaction; this in general: If there "had been but two beſides myſelf, of my opinion, I had not done it; and "the argument, that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no way "acknowledge them to be a parliament; upon which condition and con-"ſtruction I did it, and no otherwiſe; and accordingly it is regiſter'd in the "council books, with the council's unanimous approbation." *The King's Cabinet opened. Ruſh.* vol. vi. p. 943.

aſſume,

assume, and the solemn acknowledgment of their title to it; tho' it had perhaps been better, had the King, in such delicate transactions between him and his people, kept at the widest distance from such suspicious distinctions. CHAP. LVII. 1645.

The time and place of treaty were agreed on, and accordingly sixteen commissioners from the King met at Uxbridge with twelve authorized by the parliament, attended with the Scots commissioners. It was agreed that the Scots and parliamentary commissioners should give in their demands with regard to three important articles, *Religion*, the *Militia*, and *Ireland*; and that these should be successively examined and discussed in conferences with the King's commissioners [d]. It was soon found totally impracticable to come to any agreement with regard to any of these articles. 30th of Jan.

In the summer 1643, while the negotiations were carried on with Scotland, the parliament had summoned an assembly at Westminster, composed of 121 divines and 30 laymen, celebrated in their party for piety and learning. By their advice, alterations were made in the thirty-nine articles, or in the metaphysical doctrines of the church; and, what was of greater importance, the liturgy was entirely abolished, and, in its place, a new directory for worship was established; by which, suitable to the spirit of the puritans, the utmost liberty, both in praying and preaching, was indulged to the public teachers. By the solemn league and covenant, episcopacy was abjured, as destructive of all true piety; and a national engagement, attended with every circumstance, which could render a promise sacred and obligatory, was entered into with the Scots, never to suffer its re-admission. All these measures showed little spirit of accommodation in the parliament; and the King's commissioners were not surprized to find the establishment of

[d] Whitlocke, p. 121. Dugdale, p. 758.

presby-

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

presbytery and the directory positively demanded, together with the subscription to the covenant, both by the King and kingdom [e].

HAD Charles been of a disposition to neglect all theological controversy; he yet had been obliged, in good policy, to adhere to episcopal jurisdiction, not only because it was favourable to monarchy, but because all his

[e] Such love of contradiction prevailed in the parliament, that they had converted Christmas, which, with the churchmen, was a great festival, into a solemn fast and humiliation; "In order," as they said, "that it might call "to remembrance our sins and the sins of our forefathers, who, pretending "to celebrate the memory of Christ, have turned this feast into an extreme "forgetfulness of him, by giving liberty to carnal and sensual delights." *Rush.* vol. vi. p. 817. 'Tis remarkable, that, as the parliament abolished all holy days, and severely prohibited all amusement on the Sabbath; and even burned, by the hands of the hangman, the King's book of sports; the nation found, that there was no time left for relaxation or diversion. Upon application, therefore, of the servants and apprentices, the parliament appointed the second Tuesday of every month for play and recreation. *Rush.* vol. vii. p. 460. *Whitelocke*, p. 247. But these institutions, they found great difficulty to execute; and the people were resolved to be merry when they pleased, not when the parliament should prescribe to them. The keeping of Christmas holy-days was long a great mark of malignancy, and very severely censured by the commons. *Whitelocke*, p. 286. Even minced pyes, which custom had made a Christmas dish among the churchmen, was regarded, during that season as a profane and superstitious viand by the sectaries; tho' at other times it agreed very well with their stomachs. In the parliamentary ordinance too, for the observance of the Sabbath, they inserted a clause for the taking down of May-poles, which they called a heathenish vanity. Since we are upon this subject, it may not be amiss to mention, that, beside setting apart Sunday for the ordinances, as they called them, the godly had regular meetings on the Thursdays for resolving cases of conscience, and conferring about their progress in grace. What they were chiefly anxious about, was the fixing the precise moment of their conversion or new birth; and whoever could not ascertain so difficult a point of calculation, could not pretend any title to saintship. The profane scholars at Oxford, after the parliament became masters of that town, gave to the house, in which the zealots assembled, the denomination of *Scruple-Shop*: The zealots, in their turn, insulted the scholars and professors; and, intruding into the place of lectures, declaimed against human learning, and challenged the most knowing of them to prove that their calling was from Christ. See Wood's Fasti Oxonienses, p. 740.

adherents

adherents were paſſionately devoted to it; and to abandon them, in what they regarded as ſo important an article, was for ever to relinquiſh their friendſhip and aſſiſtance. But Charles had never attained ſuch enlarged principles. He eſteemed biſhops eſſential to the very being of a chriſtian church; and he thought himſelf bound, by more ſacred ties, than thoſe of policy, or even of honour, to the ſupport of that order. His conceſſions therefore, on this head, he judged ſufficient, when he agreed, that an indulgence ſhould be given to tender conſciences with regard to ceremonies; that the biſhops ſhould exerciſe no act of juriſdiction or ordination, without the conſent and council of ſuch preſbyters as ſhould be choſen by the clergy of each dioceſe; that they ſhould reſide conſtantly in their dioceſe, and be bound to preach every Sunday; that pluralities be aboliſhed; that abuſes in eccleſiaſtical courts be redreſſed; and that a hundred thouſand pounds be levied from the biſhop's eſtates and the chapter lands, for payment of debts contracted by the parliament [f]. Theſe conceſſions, tho' conſiderable, gave no ſatisfaction to the parliamentary commiſſioners; and, without abating any thing of their rigor on this head, they proceeded to their demands with regard to the militia.

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

THE king's partizans had all along maintained, that the fears and jealouſies of the parliament, after the ſecurities ſo early and eaſily given to public liberty, were either feigned or groundleſs; and that no human inſtitution could be better poized and adjuſted, than was now the government of England. By the abolition of the ſtar-chamber and court of high commiſſion, the prerogative, they ſaid, has loſt all that coercive power, by which it had formerly ſuppreſſed or endangered liberty: By the eſtabliſhment of triennial parliaments, it can have

[f] Dugdale, p. 779, 780.

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

no leiſure to acquire new powers, or guard itſelf, during any time, from the inſpection of that vigilant aſſembly: By the ſlender revenue of the crown, no king can ever attain ſuch influence as to procure a repeal of theſe ſalutary ſtatutes: and while the prince commands no mercenary forces, he will in vain, by violence, attempt an infringement of laws, ſo clearly defined by means of late diſputes, and ſo paſſionately cheriſhed by all his ſubjects. In this ſituation ſurely, the nation, governed by ſo virtuous a monarch, may, for the preſent, remain in tranquility, and try, whether it be not poſſible, by peaceful arts, to elude that danger, with which, it is pretended, its liberties are ſtill threatened.

BUT tho' the royaliſts inſiſted on theſe plauſible topics, before the commencement of the war, they were obliged to own, that the progreſs of civil commotions had ſomewhat abated the force and evidence of this reaſoning. If the power of the militia, ſaid the oppoſite party, be entruſted to the King, it were not now difficult for him to abuſe that authority. By the rage of inteſtine diſcord, his partizans are enflamed into an extreme hatred againſt their antagoniſts; and have contracted, no doubt, ſome prejudices againſt popular privileges, which, in their apprehenſion, have been the ſource of ſo much miſchief. Were the arms of the ſtate, therefore, put entirely into ſuch hands; what public ſecurity, it may be demanded, can be given to liberty, or what private ſecurity to thoſe, who, in oppoſition to the letter of the law, have ſo generouſly ventured their lives in its defence? In compliance with this apprehenſion, Charles offered, that the arms of the ſtate ſhould be entruſted, during three years, to twenty commiſſioners, who ſhould be named, either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or the one half by him, the other by the parliament. And, after the expiration of that term, he inſiſted, that his

his conſtitutional authority over the militia ſhould again return to him [g].

CHAP. LVII.

1645.

THE parliamentary commiſſioners at firſt demanded, that the power of the ſword ſhould for ever be entruſted to ſuch perſons, as the parliament alone ſhould appoint [h]: But afterwards, they relaxed ſo far, as to require that authority only for ſeven years; after which, it was not to return to the king, but to be ſettled by bill, or by common agreement between him and his parliament [i]. The King's commiſſioners aſked, Whether jealouſies and fears were all on one ſide, and whether the prince, from ſuch violent attempts and pretenſions as he had experienced, had not, at leaſt, equal reaſon to apprehend for his authority, as they for their liberty? Whether there was any equity, in ſecuring only one party, and leaving the other, during the courſe of ſeven years, entirely at the mercy of their enemies? Whether, if unlimited power was entruſted to the parliament during ſo long a period, it would not be eaſy for them to frame the ſubſequent bill in the manner moſt agreeable to themſelves, and keep for ever poſſeſſion of the ſword, as well as of every article of civil power and juriſdiction [k]?

THE truth is, after the commencement of the war, it was very difficult, if not impoſſible, to find ſecurity for both parties, eſpecially for that of the parliament. Amidſt ſuch violent animoſities, power alone could enſure ſafety; and the power of one ſide was neceſſarily attended with the danger of the other. Few or no inſtances occur in hiſtory of an equal, peaceful, and durable accommodation, that has been concluded between two factions, which have been inflamed into civil war.

WITH regard to Ireland, there were no greater hopes of agreement between the parties. The parliament de-

g Dugdale, p. 798. h Ibid. p. 791. i Ibid. p. 820.
k Ibid. p. 877.

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

manded, That the ceſſation with the rebels ſhould be declared null; that the management of the war ſhould be given over entirely to the parliament; and that after the conqueſt of Ireland, the nomination of the Lord lieutenant and of the judges, or in other words, the ſovereignty of that kingdom, ſhould likewiſe remain in their hands [1].

WHAT rendered a peaceful accommodation ſtill more deſperate: The demands on theſe three heads, however exorbitant, were acknowledged, by the parliamentary commiſſioners, to be nothing but preliminaries. Were all theſe granted, they ſtill reſerved the power of reviving thoſe other demands, ſtill more exorbitant, which, a little before, had been tranſmitted to the King at Oxford. Such ignominious terms were there inſiſted on, as worſe could ſcarcely be demanded, were Charles totally vanquiſhed, a priſoner, and in chains. The King was required to attaint and exempt from a general pardon, forty of the moſt conſiderable of his Engliſh ſubjects, and nineteen of his Scots, together with all popiſh recuſants in both kingdoms, who had borne arms for him. It was inſiſted, that forty-eight more, with all members who had ſat in either houſe at Oxford, all lawyers and divines who had embraced the King's party, ſhould be rendered incapable of any office, be forbid the exerciſe of their profeſſion, be prohibited from coming within the verge of the court, and forfeit the third of their eſtates to the parliament. It was required, that whoever had borne arms for the King, ſhould forfeit the tenth part of their eſtates, or if that did not ſuffice, the ſixth, for the payment of public debts. As if the royal authority were not ſufficiently annihilated by ſuch terms, it was demanded, that the court of wards ſhould be aboliſhed; that all the conſiderable officers of the crown, and all the judges, ſhould be appointed by

[1] Dugdale, p. 826, 827.

parlia-

parliament; and that the right of peace and war ſhould not be exerciſed without the conſent of that aſſembly [m]. The preſbyterians, it muſt be confeſſed, after inſiſting on ſuch conditions, differed only in words, from the independents, who required the eſtabliſhment of a pure republic. When the debates had been carried on to no purpoſe, during twenty days, among the commiſſioners, they ſeparated, and returned; thoſe of the King, to Oxford, thoſe of the parliament, to London.

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

A little before the commencement of this fruitleſs treaty, a deed was executed by the parliament, which proved their determined reſolution to yield nothing, but to proceed in the ſame violent and imperious manner, with which they had, at firſt, entered on theſe dangerous enterprizes. Archbiſhop Laud, the moſt favoured miniſter of the king, was brought to the ſcaffold; and in this inſtance, the public might ſee, that popular aſſemblies, as, by their very number, they are, in a great meaſure, exempt from the reſtraint of ſhame, ſo, when they alſo overleap the bounds of law, naturally break out into acts of the greateſt tyranny and injuſtice.

Execution of Laud.

FROM the time, that Laud had been committed, the houſe of commons, engaged in enterprizes of greater moment, had found no leiſure to finiſh his impeachment; and he had patiently endured ſo long an impriſonment, without being brought to any trial. After the union with Scotland, the bigotted prejudices of that nation revived the like ſpirit in England; and the ſectaries reſolved to gratify their vengeance in the puniſhment of this prelate, who had ſo long, by his authority, and by the execution of penal laws, kept their zealous ſpirit under confinement. He was accuſed of high treaſon, in endeavouring to ſubvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and miſdemeanors. The ſame illegality of an accumulative crime and a conſtructive evi-

[m] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 850. Dugdale, p. 737.

CHAP. LVII.

1654.

dence, which appeared in the caſe of Strafford; the ſame violence and iniquity in conducting the trial, are conſpicuous through the whole courſe of this proſecution. The groundleſs charge of popery, which was belied by his whole life and conduct, was continually urged againſt the priſoner; and every error rendered unpardonable by this imputation, which was ſuppoſed to imply the height of all enormities. "This man, my lords," ſaid ſerjeant Wilde, concluding his long ſpeech againſt him, "is like Naaman the Syrian; a great man, but a "leper [n]."

WE ſhall not enter into a detail of this matter, which, at preſent, ſeems to admit of ſo little controverſy. It ſuffices to ſay, that after a long trial, and the examination of above a hundred and fifty witneſſes, the commons found ſo little likelihood of obtaining a judicial ſentence againſt Laud, that they were obliged to have recourſe to their legiſlative authority, and to paſs an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate. Notwithſtanding the low condition, into which the houſe of peers were fallen, there appeared ſome intention of rejecting this ordinance; and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguiſh, by threats of new tumults, the ſmall remains of liberty, poſſeſſed by the upper houſe. Seven peers alone voted in this important queſtion. The reſt, either from ſhame or fear, took care to abſent themſelves [o].

LAUD, who had behaved during his trial with great ſpirit and vigor of genius, ſunk not under the horrors of his execution; but tho' he uſually profeſſed himſelf apprehenſive of a violent death, he found all his fears to diſſipate before that ſuperior courage, by which he was animated. "No one," ſaid he, "can be more willing "to ſend me out of life, than I am deſirous to go."

[n] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 830. [o] Warwick, p. 169.

Even

CHAP. LVII.

Even upon the ſcaffold, and during the intervals of his prayers, he was harraſſed and moleſted by Sir John Clotworthy, a zealot of the reigning ſect, and a great leader in the lower houſe: This was the time he choſe for examining the principles of the dying primate, and trapaning him into a confeſſion, that he truſted, for his ſalvation, to the merits of good works, not to the death of the Redeemer [p]. Having extricated himſelf from theſe theological toils, the Archbiſhop laid his head on the block; and it was ſevered from the body by one blow [q]. Thoſe theological opinions, for which he ſuffered, contributed, no doubt, to the courage and conſtancy of his end. Sincere, he undoubtedly was, and, however miſguided, actuated by religious motives in all his purſuits; and it is to be regretted that a man of ſuch ſpirit, who conducted his enterprizes with ſo much warmth and induſtry, had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favourable to the general happineſs of ſociety. 1645.

THE great and important advantage, which the party gained by Strafford's death, may in ſome degree, palliate the iniquity of the ſentence pronounced againſt him: But the execution of this old infirm prelate, who had ſo long remained an inoffenſive priſoner, can be aſcribed to nothing but vengeance and bigotry in thoſe ſevere religioniſts, by whom the parliament was intirely governed. That he deſerved a better fate was not queſtioned by any reaſonable man: The degree of his merit was, in other reſpects, much diſputed. Some accuſed him of recommending ſlaviſh doctrines, of promoting perſecution, and of encouraging ſuperſtition; while others thought, that his conduct, in theſe three particulars, would admit of apology and extenuation.

THAT the *letter* of the law, as much as the moſt flaming court-ſermon, inculcates paſſive obedience, is

[p] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 838, 839. [q] 12th of July.

CHAP. LVII.

1645.

very apparent: And tho' the *ſpirit* of a limited government ſeems to require, in extraordinary caſes, ſome mitigation of ſo rigorous a doctrine; it muſt be confeſſed, that the preceding genius of the Engliſh conſtitution had rendered a miſtake in this particular very natural and excuſable. To inflict death at leaſt on thoſe, who depart from the exact line of truth in theſe nice queſtions; ſo far from being favourable to national liberty; ſavours ſtrongly of the ſpirit of tyranny and proſcription.

TOLERATION had hitherto been ſo little the principle of any chriſtian ſect, that even the catholics, the remnant of the religion profeſſed by their anceſtors, could not obtain from the Engliſh the leaſt indulgence. This very houſe of commons, in their famous remonſtrance, took care to juſtify themſelves, as from the higheſt imputation, of any intention to relax the golden reins of diſcipline, as they called them, or grant any toleration[r], And the enemies of the church were ſo fair from the beginning, as not to lay claim to liberty of conſcience, which they called a toleration for ſoul murder. They openly challenged the ſuperiority, and even menaced the eſtabliſhed church with that perſecution, which they afterwards exerciſed againſt it with ſuch ſeverity. And if the queſtion be conſidered in the view of policy; tho' a ſect, already formed and advanced, may, with good reaſon, demand a toleration; what title had the puritans to this indulgence, who were juſt on the point of ſeparation from the church, and whom, it might be hoped, ſome wholſome and legal ſeverities would ſtill retain in their obedience to it[s]?

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[r] Nalſon, vol. ii. p. 705.

[s] That Laud's ſeverity was not extreme, appears from this fact, that he cauſed the acts or records of the high commiſſion-court to be ſearched, and found that there had been fewer ſuſpenſions, deprivations, and other puniſhments, by three, during the ſeven years of his time, than in any ſeven years of his predeceſſor Abbot; who was notwithſtanding in great eſteem with the houſe

CHAP. LVII. 1645.

WHATEVER ridicule, to a philoſophical mind, may be thrown on pious ceremonies, it muſt be confeſs'd, that, during a very religious age, no inſtitution can be more advantageous to the rude multitude, and tend more to mollify that fierce and gloomy ſpirit of devotion, to which they are ſubject. Even the Engliſh church, tho' it had retained a ſhare of popiſh ceremonies, may juſtly be thought too naked and unadorned, and ſtill to approach too near the abſtract and ſpiritual religion of the puritans. Laud and his aſſociates, by reviving a few primitive inſtitutions of this nature, corrected the error of the firſt reformers, and preſented, to the affrightened and aſtoniſhed mind, ſome ſenſible, exterior obſervances, which might occupy it during its religious exerciſes, and abate the violence of its diſappointed efforts. The thought, no longer bent on that divine and myſterious Eſſence, ſo ſuperior to the narrow capacities of mankind, was able, by means of the new model of devotion, to relax itſelf in the contemplation of pictures, poſtures, veſtments, buildings; and all the fine arts, which miniſtred to religion, thereby received additional encouragement. The primate,

houſe of commons. *Troubles and trials of Laud*, p. 164. But Abbot was little attached to the court, and was alſo a puritan in doctrine, and bore a mortal hatred to the papiſts. Not to mention, that the mutinous ſpirit was riſing higher in the time of Laud, and would leſs bear controul. The maxims, however, of his adminiſtration were the ſame which had ever prevailed in England, and which had place in every other European nation, except Holland, which ſtudied chiefly the intereſts of commerce, and France, which was fetter'd by edicts and treaties. To have changed them for the modern maxims of toleration, however reaſonable, would have been deemed a very bold and dangerous enterprize. It is a principle, advanced by preſident Monteſquieu, that, where the magiſtrate is ſatisfy'd with the eſtabliſh'd Religion, he ought to repreſs the firſt attempts towards innovation, and only grant a toleration to ſects that are diffus'd and eſtabliſh'd. See l'Eſprit des Loix, Liv. 25. chap. 10. According to this principle, Laud's indulgence to the Catholics, and ſeverity to the puritans, would admit of apology. I own, however, that it is very queſtionable, whether perſecution can in any caſe be juſtify'd.

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CHAP. LVII.

1645.

'tis true, conducted this ſcheme, not with the enlarged ſentiments and cool diſpoſition of a legiſlator, but with the intemperate zeal of a ſectary; and by over-looking the circumſtances of the times, ſerved rather to inflame that religious fury, which he meant to repreſs. But this blemiſh is more to be regarded as a general imputation on the whole age, than any particular failing of Laud; and 'tis ſufficient for his vindication to obſerve, that his errors were the moſt excuſable of all thoſe which prevailed during that zealous period.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVIII.

Montroſe's victories.——The new model of the army. Battle of Naſeby.——Surrender of Briſtol.——The weſt conquered by Fairfax.——Defeat of Montroſe.——Eccleſiaſtical affairs.——King goes to the Scots at Newark.——End of the war.——King delivered up by the Scots.

CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

WHILE the King's affairs declined in England, ſome events happened in Scotland, which ſeemed to promiſe him a more proſperous iſſue of the quarrel.

Montroſe's victories.

BEFORE the commencement of theſe civil diſorders, the Earl of Montroſe, a young nobleman of a diſtinguiſhed family, returning from his travels, had been introduced to the King, and had made an offer of his ſervices; but by the inſinuations of the Marqueſs, afterwards Duke of Hamilton, who poſſeſſed much of Charles's confidence, he had not been received with that diſtinction, to which he thought himſelf juſtly intitled [s]. Diſguſted with this treatment, he had forwarded all the violence of the covenanters; and agreeable to the natural ardour of his genius, he had employed himſelf, during the firſt inſurrection, with great zeal as well as ſucceſs, in levying and conducting their armies. Being commiſſioned by the *Tables* to wait upon the King, while the royal army lay at Berwic, he was ſo won upon by the civilities and careſſes of that monarch, that he thenceforth devoted himſelf intirely, though ſecretly, to his ſervice, and entred into a cloſe correſpondence with him. In the ſecond Scottiſh inſurrection, a great military command was entruſted to him by the covenanters; and he was the firſt who paſſed the Tweed, at the head of

[s] Nalſon, Intr. p. 63.

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CHAP. LVII.

1645.

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CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

their troops, in the invaſion of England. He found means, however, ſoon after to convey a letter to the King: And by the infidelity of ſome about that Prince; Hamilton, as was by ſome ſuſpected; a copy of this letter was ſent to Leven the Scots general. Being accuſed of treachery, and a correſpondence with the enemy, Montroſe openly avowed the letter; and aſked the generals, if they dared to call their ſovereign an enemy: And by this bold and magnanimous behaviour, he eſcaped the danger of an immediate proſecution. As he was now fully known to be of the royal party, he no longer concealed his principles; and he endeavoured to draw thoſe, who had entertained like ſentiments, into a bond of aſſociation for his maſter's ſervice. Though thrown into priſon for this enterprize [t], and detained ſome time, he was not diſcouraged; but ſtill continued, by his countenance and protection, to infuſe ſpirit into the diſtreſſed royaliſts. Among other perſons of diſtinction, who united themſelves to him, was the Lord Napier of Merchiſton, ſon to the famous inventor of the logarithms, the perſon to whom the title of a GREAT MAN is more juſtly due, than to any other, whom his country ever produced.

THERE was in Scotland another party, who, profeſſing equal attachment to the King's ſervice, pretended only to differ with Montroſe about the means of attaining the ſame end; and of this party, Duke Hamilton was the leader. That Nobleman had cauſe to be extremely devoted to the King, not only by reaſon of the connexion of blood, which united him to the royal family; but on account of the great confidence and favour, with which he had ever been honoured by his maſter. Being accuſed by Lord Rae, not without ſome

[t] It is not improper to take notice of a miſtake committed by Clarendon, much to the diſadvantage of this gallant Nobleman; that he offered the King, when his Majeſty was in Scotland, to aſſaſſinate Argyle. All the time the King was in Scotland, Montroſe was confined to priſon. Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 980.

CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

appearance or probability, of a conſpiracy againſt the King; Charles was ſo far from harbouring ſuſpicion againſt him, that, the very firſt time Hamilton came to court, he received him into his bed-chamber, and paſſed alone the night with him [u]. But ſuch was the Duke's unhappy fate or conduct, that he eſcaped not the imputation of treachery to his friend and ſovereign; and though he at laſt ſacrificed his life in the King's ſervice, his integrity and ſincerity have not been thought by hiſtorians intirely free from blemiſh. Perhaps, (and this is the moſt probable opinion) the ſubtilties and refinements of his conduct and his temporizing maxims, tho' accompanied with good intentions, have been the chief cauſe of a ſuſpicion, which has never yet been either fully proved or refuted. As much as the bold and vivid ſpirit of Montroſe prompted him to enterprizing meaſures, as much was the cautious temper of Hamilton inclined to ſuch as were moderate and dilatory. While the former foretold, that the Scots covenanters were ſecretly forming an union with the Engliſh parliament, and inculcated the neceſſity of preventing them by ſome vigorous undertaking; the latter ſtill inſiſted, that every ſuch attempt would precipitate them into meaſures, to which, otherwiſe, they were not, perhaps, inclined. After the Scots parliament was ſummoned without the King's authority, the former exclaimed, that their intentions were now viſible, and that if ſome unexpected blow was not ſtruck, to diſſipate them, they would arm the whole nation againſt the King; the latter maintained the poſſibility of outvoting the diſaffected party, and ſecuring, by peaceful means, the allegiance of the Scots nation [w]. Unhappily for the royal cauſe, Hamilton's repreſentations met with more credit from the King and Queen, than thoſe of Montroſe; and the covenanters

[u] Nalſon, vol. ii. p. 683. Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 980. Wiſhart, cap. 2.

[w] Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 380, 381.

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CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

were allowed, without interruption, to proceed in all their hoſtile meaſures. Montroſe then haſtened to Oxford; where his invectives againſt Hamilton's treachery, concurring with the general prepoſſeſſion, and ſupported by the unfortunate event of his councils, were entertained with univerſal approbation. Influenced by the clamour of his party, more than his own ſuſpicions, Charles, ſo ſoon as Hamilton appeared, ſent him priſoner to Pendennis caſtle in Cornwall. His brother, Laneric, who was alſo put under confinement, found means to make his eſcape, and fly into Scotland.

THE King's ears were now open to Montroſe's councils, who propoſed none but the boldeſt and moſt daring, agreeable to the deſperate ſtate of the royal cauſe in Scotland. Though the whole nation was occupied by the covenanters, though great armies were kept on foot by them, and every place guarded by a vigilant adminiſtration; he undertook, by his own credit, and that of the few friends, who remained to the King, to raiſe ſuch commotions, as would ſoon oblige the male-contents to recal thoſe forces, which had ſo ſenſibly thrown the balance in favour of the parliament [x]. Not diſcouraged with the defeat at Marſton moor, which rendered it impoſſible for him to draw any ſuccour from England; he was contented to ſtipulate with the Earl of Antrim, a Nobleman of Ireland, for ſome ſupply of men from that country. And he himſelf, changing his diſguiſes and paſſing through many dangers, arrived in Scotland; where he lay concealed in the borders of the Highlands, and ſecretly prepared the minds of his partizans for the attempting ſome great enterprize [y].

No ſooner were the Iriſh landed, though not exceeding eleven hundred foot, very ill armed, than Montroſe declared himſelf, and entered upon that ſcene of action,

[x] Wiſhart, cap. 3. [y] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 618. Ruſh. vol. v. p. 982. Wiſhart, cap. 4.

which

CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

which has rendered his name so celebrated. About eight hundred of the men of Athole flocked to his standard. Five hundred men more, who had been levied by the covenanters, were persuaded to embrace the royal cause: And with this combined force, he hastened to attack Lord Elcho, who lay at Perth with an army of 6000 men, assembled upon the first news of the Irish invasion. Montrose, inferior in number, totally unprovided of horse, ill supplied with arms and ammunition, had nothing to depend on, but the courage, which he himself, by his own example, and the rapidity of his enterprizes, should inspire into his raw soldiers. Having received the fire of the enemy, which was answered chiefly with a volley of stones, he rushed amidst them with his sword drawn, threw them into confusion, pushed his advantage, and obtained a complete victory, with the slaughter of two thousand of the covenanters [y].

This victory, though it augmented the renown of Montrose, increased not his power nor numbers. The far greater part of the kingdom were extremely attached to the covenant; and such as bore an affection to the royal cause, were terrified by the established authority of the opposite party. Dreading the superior power of Argyle, who, having joined his vassals to a force levied by the public, was approaching with a considerable army; Montrose hastened northwards, in order to rouze again the Marquess of Huntley and the Gordons, who, having before hastily taken arms, had been instantly suppressed by the covenanters. He was joined on his march by the Earl of Airly, with his two younger sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilvy: The eldest was, at that time, a prisoner with the enemy. He attacked at Aberdeen the Lord Burley, who commanded a force of 2500 men. After a sharp combat, by his undaunted courage,

[y] 1st of September 1644. Rush. vol. vi. p. 983. Wishart, cap. 5.

which,

CHAP. LVIII.

1645. which, in his ſituation, was true policy, and was alſo not unaccompanied with military ſkill, he put the enemy to flight, and in the purſuit did great execution upon them [z].

BUT by this ſecond advantage, he obtained not the end, which he propoſed. The envious nature of Huntly, jealous of Montroſe's glory, rendered him averſe to join an army, where he himſelf muſt be ſo much eclipſed by the ſuperior merit of the general. Argyle, re-inforced by the Earl of Lothian, was behind him with a great army: The militia of the northern counties, Murray, Roſs, Caithneſs, to the number of 5000, oppoſed him in front, and guarded the banks of the Spey, a deep and rapid river. In order to elude theſe numerous armies, he turned aſide into the hills, and ſaved his weak, but active troops, in Badenoch. After ſome marches and counter-marches, Argyle came up with him at Faivy-caſtle. This Nobleman's character, though celebrated for political courage and conduct, was very low for military proweſs; and after ſome ſkirmiſhes, in which he was worſted, he here allowed Montroſe to eſcape him. By quick marches, through theſe inacceſſible mountains, that general freed himſelf from the ſuperior forces of the covenanters.

SUCH was the ſituation of Montroſe, that very good or very ill fortune was equally deſtructive to him, and diminiſhed his army. After every victory, his ſoldiers, greedy of ſpoil, but deeming the ſmalleſt acquiſition to be unexhauſted riches, deſerted in great numbers, and went home to ſecure the treaſures, which they had acquired. Tired too, and ſpent with haſty and long marches, in the depth of winter, through ſnowy mountains, unprovided of every neceſſary, they fell off, and left their general almoſt alone with the Iriſh, who, hav-

[z] 11th of September 1644. Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 983. Wiſhart, cap. 7.

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ing no place to which they could retire, ſtill adhered to him in every fortune. CHAP. LVIII.

WITH theſe, and ſome reinforcement of the Atholemen, and Macdonalds whom he had recalled, Montroſe fell ſuddenly upon Argyle's country, and let looſe upon it the whole rage of war; carrying off the cattle, burning the houſes, and putting the inhabitants to the ſword. This ſeverity, by which Montroſe ſullied his victories, was the reſult of private animoſity againſt the chieftain, as much as of zeal for the public cauſe. Argyle, collecting three thouſand men, marched in queſt of the enemy, who had retired with their plunder; and he lay at Innerlochy, ſuppoſing himſelf ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance from them. The Earl of Seaforth, at the head of the garriſon of Inverneſs, who were veteran ſoldiers, joined to 5000 new levied troops of the northern counties, preſſed the royaliſts on the other ſide, and threatened them with inevitable deſtruction. By a quick and unexpected march, Montroſe haſtened to Innerlochy, and preſented himſelf in order of battle, before the ſurpriſed, but not affrighted, covenanters. Argyle alone, ſeized with a panic, deſerted his army, who ſtill maintained their ground, and gave battle to the royaliſts. After a vigorous reſiſtance, they were defeated, and purſued with great ſlaughter [a]. And the power of the Campbels (that is Argyle's name) being thus broke; the highlanders, who were in general well-affected to the royal cauſe, began to join Montroſe's camp, in great numbers. Seaforth's army diſperſed of itſelf, at the very terror of his name. And the Lord Gordon, eldeſt ſon to Huntley, having eſcaped from his uncle Argyle, who had hitherto detained him, now joined Montroſe, with no contemptible number of his followers, attended by his brother the Earl of Aboine.

1645.

2d of Feb.

[a] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 985. Wiſhart, cap. 8.

CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

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Such was the situation of Montrose, that very good or very ill fortune was equally destructive to him, and diminished his army. After every victory, his soldiers, greedy of spoil, but deeming the smallest acquisition to be unexhausted riches, deserted in great numbers, and went home to secure the treasures, which they had acquired. Tired too, and spent with hasty and long marches, in the depth of winter, through snowy mountains, unprovided of every necessary, they fell off, and left their general almost alone with the Irish, who, hav-

[z] 11th of September 1644. Rush. vol. vi. p. 983. Wishart, cap. 7.

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2d of Feb.

[a] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 985. Wiſhart, cap. 8.

CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

THE council at Edinburgh, alarmed at Montroſe's progreſs, began to think of a more regular plan of defence, againſt an enemy, whoſe repeated victories had rendered him extremely formidable. They ſent for Baillie, an officer of reputation from England; and joining him in command with Urrey, who had again inliſted himſelf among the King's enemies, they ſent them to the field, with a conſiderable army, againſt the royaliſts. Montroſe, with a detachment of 800 men, had attacked Dundee, a town extremely zealous for the covenant: And having carried it by aſſault, had delivered it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers; when Baillie and Urrey, with their whole force, were unexpectedly upon him [b]. His conduct and preſence of mind, in this emergence, appeared conſpicuous. Inſtantly he called off his ſoldiers from plunder, put them in order, ſecured his retreat by the moſt ſkilful meaſures; and having marched ſixty miles in the face of an enemy much ſuperior, without ſtopping, or allowing his ſoldiers the leaſt ſleep or refreſhment, he at laſt ſecured himſelf in the mountains.

BAILLIE and Urrey now divided their troops, in order the better to conduct the war againſt an enemy, who ſurpriſed them, as much by the rapidity of his marches, as by the boldneſs of his enterprizes. Urrey, at the head of 4000 men, met him at Alderne, near Inverneſs; and, encouraged by the ſuperiority of number (for the covenanters were double the royaliſts,) attacked him in the poſt which he had choſen. Montroſe, having placed his right wing in very ſtrong ground, drew the beſt of his forces to the other, and left no main body between them; a defect which he artfully concealed, by ſhowing a few men thro' the trees and buſhes, with which that ground was covered. That Urrey might have no leiſure to perceive the ſtratagem, he inſtantly led his left wing

[b] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 228. Wiſhart, cap. 9.

to

to the attack; and, making a furious impreſſion upon the covenanters, drove them off the field, and obtained a compleat victory [b]. In this battle, the valour of young Napier, ſon to the lord of that name, ſhone out with ſignal luſtre. 1645.

BAILLIE now advanced, in order to revenge Urrey's diſcomfiture; but, at Alford, he met himſelf with a like fate [c]. Montroſe, weak in cavalry, lined his troops of horſe with infantry; and after putting the enemies horſe to rout, fell with united force upon their infantry, which were entirely cut in pieces, though with the loſs of the gallant Lord Gordon on the part of the royaliſts [d]. And having thus prevailed in ſo many battles, which his vigour ever rendered as deciſive as they were ſucceſsful; he ſummoned together all his friends and confederates, and prepared himſelf for marching into the ſouthern provinces, in order to put a total period to the power of the covenanters, and diſſipate the parliament, which, with great pomp and ſolemnity, they had aſſembled at St. Johnſton's.

WHILE the fire was thus kindled in the north of the iſland, it blazed out with no leſs fury in the ſouth; and the parliamentary and royal armies, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, prepared to take the field, in hopes of bringing their important quarrel to a quick deciſion. The paſſing the ſelf-denying ordinance had been protracted by ſo many debates and intrigues, that the ſpring was far advanced before it received the ſanction of both houſes; and it was thought dangerous by many to introduce, ſo near the time of action, ſuch great innovations into the army. Had not the punctilious principles of Eſſex engaged him, amidſt all the diſguſts which he received, to pay implicit obedience to the parliament; this alteration had not been effected without ſome fatal

[b] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 229. Wiſhart, cap. 10.
[c] 2d of July.
[d] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 229. Wiſhart, cap. 11.

 accident:

CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

THE council at Edinburgh, alarmed at Montroſe's progreſs, began to think of a more regular plan of defence, againſt an enemy, whoſe repeated victories had rendered him extremely formidable. They ſent for Baillie, an officer of reputation from England; and joining him in command with Urrey, who had again inliſted himſelf among the King's enemies, they ſent them to the field, with a conſiderable army, againſt the royaliſts. Montroſe, with a detachment of 800 men, had attacked Dundee, a town extremely zealous for the covenant: And having carried it by aſſault, had delivered it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers; when Baillie and Urrey, with their whole force, were unexpectedly upon him [b]. His conduct and preſence of mind, in this emergence, appeared conſpicuous. Inſtantly he called off his ſoldiers from plunder, put them in order, ſecured his retreat by the moſt ſkilful meaſures; and having marched ſixty miles in the face of an enemy much ſuperior, without ſtopping, or allowing his ſoldiers the leaſt ſleep or refreſhment, he at laſt ſecured himſelf in the mountains.

BAILLIE and Urrey now divided their troops, in order the better to conduct the war againſt an enemy, who ſurpriſed them, as much by the rapidity of his marches, as by the boldneſs of his enterprizes. Urrey, at the head of 4000 men, met him at Alderne, near Inverneſs; and, encouraged by the ſuperiority of number (for the covenanters were double the royaliſts,) attacked him in the poſt which he had choſen. Montroſe, having placed his right wing in very ſtrong ground, drew the beſt of his forces to the other, and left no main body between them; a defect which he artfully concealed, by ſhowing a few men thro' the trees and buſhes, with which that ground was covered. That Urrey might have no leiſure to perceive the ſtratagem, he inſtantly led his left wing

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CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

accident: Since, notwithſtanding the prompt reſignation of his command, a mutiny was generally apprehended [e]. Fairfax, or more properly ſpeaking, Cromwel under his name, introduced, at laſt, the *new model* into the army, and threw the whole troops into a different ſhape. From the ſame men, new regiments and new companies were formed, different officers appointed, and the whole military force put into ſuch hands, as the independents could rely on. Beſides members of parliament who were excluded, many officers unwilling to ſerve under the new generals, threw up their commiſſions; and unwarily facilitated the project of putting the army entirely into the hands of that faction.

THOUGH the diſcipline of the former parliamentary army was not contemptible, a more exact plan was introduced, and rigorouſly executed, by theſe new commanders. Valour indeed was very generally diffuſed over the one party as well as the other, during this period: Diſcipline alſo was attained by the forces of the parliament: But the perfection of the military art, in concerting the general plans of action, and the operations of the field, ſeems ſtill, on both ſides, to have been, in a great meaſure, wanting. Hiſtorians at leaſt, perhaps from their own ignorance and inexperience, have not remarked any thing but a headlong impetuous conduct; each party hurrying to a battle, where valour and fortune chiefly determined the ſucceſs. The great ornament of hiſtory, during theſe reigns, are the civil, not the military tranſactions.

New model of the army.

NEVER ſurely was a more ſingular army aſſembled, than that which was now ſet on foot by the parliament. To the greateſt number of the regiments, chaplains were not appointed: The officers aſſumed the ſpiritual duty, and united it with their military functions. Dur-

[e] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 126, 127.

ing

ing all the intervals of action, they occupied themſelves in ſermons, prayers, exhortations; and the ſame emulation, there, attended them, which, in the field, is ſo neceſſary to ſupport the honour of that profeſſion. Rapturous ecſtaſies ſupplied the place of ſtudy and reflection; and while the zealous devotees poured out their thoughts in unpremeditated harangues, they miſtook that eloquence, which, to their own ſurprize, as well as that of others, flowed in upon them, for divine illuminations, and for illapſes of the Holy Spirit. Wherever they were quartered, they excluded the miniſter from his pulpit; and, mounting that tribunal, conveyed their ſentiments to the audience, with all the authority, which followed their power, their valour, their military exploits, united to their appearing zeal and fervor. The private ſoldiers, ſeized with the ſame ſpirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in peruſing the Holy Scriptures, in ghoſtly conferences; where they compared the progreſs of their ſouls in grace, and mutually ſtimulated each other to farther advances in the great work of their ſalvation. When marching to battle, the whole field reſounded, as well with pſalms and ſpiritual ſongs adapted to the occaſion, as with the inſtruments of military muſic [f]; and each man endeavoured to drown the ſenſe of preſent danger, in the proſpect of that crown of glory which was ſet before him. In ſo holy a cauſe, wounds were eſteemed meritorious; death, martyrdom; and the hurry and dangers of action, inſtead of baniſhing their pious viſions, ſerved rather to impreſs their minds more ſtrongly with them.

THE royaliſts endeavoured to throw a ridicule on this fanaticiſm of the parliamentary armies, without being ſenſible how much reaſon they had to apprehend its dangerous conſequences. The forces, aſſembled by the King at Oxford, in the weſt, and in other places, were equal,

[f] Dugdale, p. 7. Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 281.

CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

if not ſuperior, in number, to their adverſaries; but actuated by a very different ſpirit. That licence, which had been introduced by the want of pay, had riſen to a prodigious height among them, and rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies. Prince Rupert, negligent of the people, fond of the ſoldiery, had indulged the troops in very unwarrantable liberties: Wilmot, a man of profligate manners, had promoted the ſame ſpirit of diſorder: And the licentious Goring, Gerrard, Sir Richard Granville, now carried it to the greateſt pitch of enormity. In the weſt eſpecially, where Goring commanded, univerſal ſpoil and havoc were committed; and the whole country was laid waſte by the unbounded rapine of the army. All diſtinction of parties being in a manner dropped; the moſt devoted friends of the church and monarchy wiſhed there for ſuch ſucceſs to the parliamentary forces, as might put an end to theſe oppreſſions. The country people, deſpoiled of their ſubſtance, flocked together in ſeveral places armed with clubs and ſtaves; and though they profeſſed an enmity to the ſoldiers of both parties, their hatred was in moſt places levelled chiefly againſt the royaliſts, from whom they had met with the worſt treatment. Many thouſands of theſe tumultuous peaſants were aſſembled in different parts of England; who deſtroyed all ſuch ſtraggling ſoldiers as they met with, and much infeſted the armies [g].

THE diſpoſition of the forces on both ſides, was as follows: Part of the Scots army was employed in taking Pomfret, and other towns in Yorkſhire: Part of it beſieged Carliſle, valiantly defended by Sir Thomas Glenham. Cheſter, where Biron commanded, had long been blockaded by Sir William Brereton; and was re-

[g] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 52, 61. 62. Whitlocke, p. 130, 131, 133, 135. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 665.

duced

duced to great difficulties. The King, being joined by the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, lay at Oxford, with a conſiderable army, about 15000 men. Fairfax and Cromwel were poſted at Windſor, with the new modelled army, about 22,000 men. Taunton, in the county of Somerſet, defended by Blake, ſuffered a long ſiege from Sir Richard Granville, who commanded an army of about 8000 men; and though the defence had been very obſtinate, the garriſon was now reduced to the laſt extremity. Goring commanded, in the weſt, an army of nearly the ſame number [h].

CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

On opening the campaign, the King formed the project of relieving Cheſter; Fairfax, that of relieving Taunton. The King was firſt in motion. When he advanced to Draiton in Shropſhire, Biron met him, and brought intelligence, that his approach had raiſed the ſiege, and that the parliamentary army was drawn off. Fairfax, having reached Saliſbury in his road weſtward, received orders from the committee of both kingdoms, appointed for the management of the war, to return and lay ſiege to Oxford, now expoſed by the King's abſence. He obeyed, after ſending Colonel Weldon to the weſt, with a detachment of 4000 men. On Weldon's approach, Granville, who imagined that Fairfax with his whole army was upon him, raiſed the ſiege, and allowed this pertinacious town, now half taken and half burned, to receive relief: But the royaliſts, being reinforced with 3000 horſe under Goring, again advanced to Taunton, and ſhut up Weldon, with his ſmall army, in that ruinous place [i].

The King having affected his purpoſe with regard to Cheſter, returned ſouthwards; and, in his way, ſat down before Leiceſter, a garriſon of the parliament. Having made a breach in the wall, he ſtormed the town

[h] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 18, 19, &c. [i] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 28.

CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

on all sides; and, after a furious assault, the soldiers entered sword in hand, and committed all those disorders, to which their natural violence, especially when enflamed by resistance, is so much addicted [k]. A great booty was taken and distributed among them: Fifteen hundred prisoners fell into the King's hands. This success, which struck a great terror into the parliamentary party, determined Fairfax to leave Oxford, which he was beginning to approach; and marched towards the King, with an intention of offering him battle. The King was advancing towards Oxford, in order to raise the siege, which he apprehended was now begun; and both armies, ere they were aware, had advanced within six miles of each other. A council of war was called by the King, in order to deliberate concerning the measures which he should now pursue. On the one hand, it seemed more prudent to delay the combat; because Gerard, who lay in Wales with 3000 men, might be enabled, in a little time, to join the army; and Goring, it was hoped, would soon be master of Taunton, and having put the west in full security, would then unite his forces to those of the King, and give him an incontestable superiority over the enemy. On the other hand, Prince Rupert, whose boiling ardour still pushed him on to battle, excited the impatient humour of the nobility and gentry, of which the army was full; and urged the many difficulties under which the royalists laboured, and from which nothing but a victory could relieve them: The resolution was taken of giving battle to Fairfax; and the royal army immediately advanced upon him.

Battle of Naseby.

At Naseby was fought, with forces nearly equal, this decisive and well-disputed field, between the King and parliament. The main body of the royalists was commanded by the King: The right wing, by Prince Ru-

[k] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 652.

pert;

pert; The left, by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Fairfax, seconded by Skippon, placed himself in the main body of the opposite army: Cromwel, in the right wing: Ireton, Cromwel's son-in-law, in the left. The charge was begun, with his usual celerity and usual success, by Prince Rupert. Tho' Ireton made stout resistance, and even after he was run through the thigh with a pike, still maintained the combat, till he was taken prisoner; yet was that whole wing broke, and pursued with precipitate fury by Rupert: He was even so inconsiderate as to lose time in summoning and attacking the artillery of the parliament, which had been left with a good guard of infantry. The King led on his main body, and displayed, in this action, all the conduct of a prudent general, and all the valour of a stout soldier [l]. Fairfax and Skippon encountered him, and well supported that reputation, which they had acquired. Skippon, being dangerously wounded, was desired by Fairfax to leave the field; but declared that he would remain there as long as one man maintained his ground [m]. The infantry of the parliament was broke, and pressed upon by the King; till Fairfax, with great presence of mind, brought up the reserve and renewed the combat. Mean while, Cromwel, having led on his troops to the attack of Langdale, overbore the force of the royalists, and by his prudence improved that advantage, which he had gained by his valour. Having pursued the enemy about a quarter of a mile, and detached some troops to prevent their rallying; he turned back upon the King's infantry, and threw them into the utmost confusion. One regiment alone preserved its order unbroken, tho' twice desperately assailed by Fairfax: And that general, excited by so steddy a resistance, ordered Doyley, the captain of his life-guard, to give them a third charge in front, while he himself attacked them in rear. The regiment was

[l] Whitlocke, p. 146. [m] Rush. vol. vii. p. 43. Whitlocke, p. 145.

CHAP. LVIII.

1645.

broke. Fairfax, with his own hands, killed an enſign, and, having ſeized the colours, gave them to a ſoldier to keep for him. The ſoldier afterwards boaſting that he had won this ſpoil, was reproved by Doyley, who had ſeen the action; *Let him retain that honour*, ſaid Fairfax, *I have to-day acquired enough beſide* [n].

PRINCE RUPERT, ſenſible too late of his error, left the fruitleſs attack on the enemy's artillery, and joined the King, whoſe infantry was now totally diſcomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to deſpair, and cried aloud to them, *One charge more, and we recover the day* [o]. But the diſadvantages, under which they laboured, were too evident; and they could by no means be induced to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy [p]. The ſlain, on the ſide of the parliament, exceeded thoſe on the ſide of the King: They loſt a thouſand men; he not above eight hundred. But Fairfax made 500 officers priſoners and 4000 private men: Took all the King's artillery and ammunition, and totally diſſipated his infantry: So that ſcarce any victory could be more compleat, than that which he obtained.

AMONG the other ſpoils, was ſeized the King's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the Queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be publiſhed [q]. They choſe, no doubt, ſuch of them as they thought would reflect moſt diſhonour upon him: Yet upon the whole, the letters are wrote with delicacy and tenderneſs, and give an advantageous idea both of the King's genius and morals. A mighty fondneſs, 'tis true, and attachment, he expreſſes to his conſort, and often profeſſes that he never would embrace meaſures, diſagreeable to her: But ſuch declarations of civility and confi-

[n] Whitlocke, p. 145. [o] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 44. [p] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 656, 657. Walker, p. 130, 131. [q] Clarendon, vol. iv p. 658.

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THE Athenians, having intercepted a letter wrote by their enemy, Philip of Macedon, to his wife Olympia; ſo far from being moved by a curioſity of prying into the ſecrets of that relation, immediately ſent the letter to the Queen unopened. Philip was not their ſovereign; nor were they enflamed with that violent animoſity againſt him, which attends all civil commotions.

AFTER the battle, the King retreated with that body of horſe, which remained intire, firſt to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained ſome time in Wales, from the vain hope of raiſing a body of infantry in thoſe harraſſed and exhauſted quarters. Fairfax, having firſt retaken Leiceſter, which was ſurrendered upon articles, began to deliberate concerning his future enterprizes. A letter was brought him, wrote by Goring to the King, and unfortunately entruſted to a ſpy of Fairfax. Goring informed the King, that, in three weeks time, he hoped to be maſter of Taunton; after which he would join his Majeſty with all the forces of the weſt; and entreated him, in the mean while, to avoid coming to any action with the enemy. This letter, which, had it been ſafely delivered, had probably prevented the battle of Naſeby, 17th of June.

[r] Hearne has publiſh'd the following extract from a manuſcript work of Sir Simon D'Ewes, who was no mean man in the parliament party, "On "Thurſday the 30th and laſt day of this inſtant June 1625, I went to "Whitehall, purpoſely to ſee the Queen, which I did fully all the time ſhe "ſat at dinner. I perceiv'd her to be a moſt abſolute delicate lady, after I "had exactly ſurvey'd all the features of her face, much enliven'd by her "radiant and ſparkling black eyes. Beſides, her deportment among her wo-"men was ſo ſweet and humble, and her ſpeech and looks to her other ſer-"vants ſo mild and gracious, as I could not abſtain from divers deep fetched "ſighs, to conſider, that ſhe wanted the knowledge of the true religion." See Preface to the Chronicle of Dunſtable, p. 64.

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broke. Fairfax, with his own hands, killed an enſign, and, having ſeized the colours, gave them to a ſoldier to keep for him. The ſoldier afterwards boaſting that he had won this ſpoil, was reproved by Doyley, who had ſeen the action; *Let him retain that honour*, ſaid Fairfax, *I have to-day acquired enough beſide* [n].

PRINCE RUPERT, ſenſible too late of his error, left the fruitleſs attack on the enemy's artillery, and joined the King, whoſe infantry was now totally diſcomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to deſpair, and cried aloud to them, *One charge more, and we recover the day* [o]. But the diſadvantages, under which they laboured, were too evident; and they could by no means be induced to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy [p]. The ſlain, on the ſide of the parliament, exceeded thoſe on the ſide of the King: They loſt a thouſand men; he not above eight hundred. But Fairfax made 500 officers priſoners and 4000 private men: Took all the King's artillery and ammunition, and totally diſſipated his infantry: So that ſcarce any victory could be more compleat, than that which he obtained.

AMONG the other ſpoils, was ſeized the King's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the Queen, which the parliament afterwards ordered to be publiſhed [q]. They choſe, no doubt, ſuch of them as they thought would reflect moſt diſhonour upon him: Yet upon the whole, the letters are wrote with delicacy and tenderneſs, and give an advantageous idea both of the King's genius and morals. A mighty fondneſs, 'tis true, and attachment, he expreſſes to his conſort, and often profeſſes that he never would embrace meaſures, diſagreeable to her: But ſuch declarations of civility and confi-

[n] Whitlocke, p. 145. [o] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 44. [p] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 656, 657. Walker, p. 130, 131. [q] Clarendon, vol. iv p. 658.

dence are not always to be taken in a literal ſenſe. And ſo legitimate an affection, avowed by the laws of God and man, may, perhaps, be excuſable towards a woman of beauty and ſpirit, even tho' ſhe was a papiſt [r]. CHAP. LVIII. 1645.

THE Athenians, having intercepted a letter wrote by their enemy, Philip of Macedon, to his wife Olympia; ſo far from being moved by a curioſity of prying into the ſecrets of that relation, immediately ſent the letter to the Queen unopened. Philip was not their ſovereign; nor were they enflamed with that violent animoſity againſt him, which attends all civil commotions.

AFTER the battle, the King retreated with that body of horſe, which remained intire, firſt to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained ſome time in Wales, from the vain hope of raiſing a body of infantry in thoſe harraſſed and exhauſted quarters. Fairfax, having firſt retaken Leiceſter, which was ſurrendered upon articles, began to deliberate concerning his future enterprizes. A letter was brought him, wrote by Goring to the King, and unfortunately entruſted to a ſpy of Fairfax. Goring informed the King, that, in three weeks time, he hoped to be maſter of Taunton; after which he would join his Majeſty with all the forces of the weſt; and entreated him, in the mean while, to avoid coming to any action with the enemy. This letter, which, had it been ſafely delivered, had probably prevented the battle of Naſeby, 17th of June.

[r] Hearne has publiſh'd the following extract from a manuſcript work of Sir Simon D'Ewes, who was no mean man in the parliament party, "On "Thurſday the 30th and laſt day of this inſtant June 1625, I went to "Whitehall, purpoſely to ſee the Queen, which I did fully all the time ſhe "ſat at dinner. I perceiv'd her to be a moſt abſolute delicate lady, after I "had exactly ſurvey'd all the features of her face, much enliven'd by her "radiant and ſparkling black eyes. Beſides, her deportment among her wo-"men was ſo ſweet and humble, and her ſpeech and looks to her other ſer-"vants ſo mild and gracious, as I could not abſtain from divers deep fetched "ſighs, to conſider, that ſhe wanted the knowledge of the true religion." See Preface to the Chronicle of Dunſtable, p. 64.

CHAP. VIII. 1645.

served now to direct the councils of Fairfax[s]. After leaving a body of 3000 men to Pountz and Rossiter, with orders to attend the King's motions, he marched immediately to the west, with a view of saving Taunton, and suppressing the only considerable force which now remained to the royalists.

In the beginning of the campaign, Charles, apprehensive of the event, had sent the Prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, to the west, with the title of general, and had given orders, if he was pressed by the enemy, that he should make his escape into a foreign country, and save one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. Prince Rupert had thrown himself into Bristol, with an intention of defending that important city. Goring commanded the army before Taunton.

10th of July. On Fairfax's approach, the siege of Taunton was raised; and the royalists retired to Lamport, an open town in the county of Somerset. Fairfax attacked them in that post, beat them from it, killed about 300 men, and took 1400 prisoners[t]. After this advantage, he sat down before Bridgewater, a town esteemed strong, and of great consequence in that country. When he had entered the outer town by storm, Windham the governor, who had retired into the inner, immediately capitulated, and delivered the place to Fairfax. The garrison, to the number of 2600 men, were made prisoners of war.

23d of July.

Fairfax having next taken Bath and Sherborne, resolved to sit down before Bristol; and made great preparations for an enterprize, which, from the strength of the garrison, and the reputation of Prince Rupert, the governor, was deemed of the last importance. But, so precarious in most men is this quality of military cou-

[s] Rush. vol. vii. p. 49. [t] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 55.

rage!

CHAP. LVIII.

rage! a poorer defence was not made by any town, during the whole war: And the general expectations were here extremely diſappointed. No ſooner had the parliamentary forces entered the lines by ſtorm, than the Prince capitulated, and delivered up the city to Fairfax [u]. A few days before, he had wrote a letter to the King, in which he undertook to defend the place for four months, if no mutiny obliged him to ſurrender it. Charles, who was forming ſchemes, and collecting forces, for the relief of Briſtol, was aſtoniſhed at ſo unexpected an event, which was little leſs fatal to his party than the defeat at Naſeby [w]. Full of indignation, he inſtantly recalled all Prince Rupert's commiſſions, and ſent him a paſs to go beyond ſea [x].

1645. 11th of Sept. Surrender of Briſtol.

THE King's affairs now went faſt to ruin in all quarters. The Scots, having made themſelves maſters of Carliſle [y], after an obſtinate ſiege, marched ſouthwards, and laid ſiege to Hereford; but were obliged to raiſe it on the King's approach: And this was the laſt glimpſe of ſucceſs, which attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Cheſter, which was a-new beſieged by the parliamentary forces under Colonel Jones; Pointz attacked his rear, and forced him to give battle. While the fight was continued with great obſtinacy, and victory ſeemed to incline to the royaliſts; Jones fell upon them from the other ſide, and put them to rout, with the loſs of 600 ſlain and 1000 priſoners [z]. The King, with the remains of his broken army, fled to Newark, and from thence eſcaped to Oxford, where he ſhut himſelf up during the winter ſeaſon.

24th of Sept.

THE news, which he received from all ſides, were no leſs fatal than thoſe events, which paſſed, where he himſelf was preſent. Fairfax and Cromwel, after the ſur-

[u] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 83. [w] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 690. Walker, p. 137. [x] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 695. [y] 28th of June. [z] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 117.

render

CHAP. LVIII.

render of Briſtol, having divided their forces, the former marched weſtwards, in order to compleat the conqueſt of Devonſhire and Cornwal; the latter attacked the King's garriſons which lay to the eaſt of Briſtol. The Devizes was ſurrendered to Cromwel; Berkeley caſtle was taken by ſtorm; Wincheſter capitulated; Baſing-houſe was entered ſword in hand: And all theſe middle counties of England were, in a little time, reduced to obedience under the parliament.

1645.

1646. The weſt conquered by Fairfax.

The ſame rapid and uninterrupted ſucceſs attended Fairfax. The parliamentary forces, elevated by paſt victories, governed by the moſt rigid diſcipline, met with no equal oppoſition from troops, diſmayed by repeated defeats, and corrupted by licentious manners. After beating up the quarters of the royaliſts at Bovey-Tracy, Fairfax ſat down before Dartmouth, and in a few days entered it by ſtorm. Poudram caſtle being taken by him, and Exeter blockaded on all ſides; Hopton, a man of merit, who now commanded the royaliſts, having advanced to the relief of that town with an army of 8000 men, met with the parliamentary army at Torrington; where he was defeated, all his foot diſperſed, and he himſelf with his horſe obliged to retire into Cornwall. Fairfax followed him, and vigorouſly purſued the victory. Having incloſed the royaliſts at Truro, he forced the whole army, conſiſting of 5000 men, chiefly cavalry, to ſurrender upon terms. The ſoldiers delivering up their horſes and arms, were allowed to diſband, and received twenty ſhillings a-piece, to carry them to their own houſes. Such of the officers, as deſired it, had paſſes to retire beyond ſea: The others, having promiſed never more to bear arms, payed compoſitions to the parliament [a], and procured their pardon [b]. And thus Fair-

18th of Jan.

19th of Feb.

[a] Theſe compoſitions were different, according to the demerits of the perſon: But by a vote of the houſe they could not be under two year's rent of the delinquent's eſtate. Journ. 11th of Auguſt 1648. Whitlocke, p. 160.

[b] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 108.

fax

CHAP. LVIII.

1646.

fax, after taking Exeter, which compleated the conqueſt of the weſt, marched, with his victorious army, to the centre of the kingdom, and fixed his camp at Newbury. The Prince of Wales, in purſuance of the King's orders, retired to Scilly, then to Jerſey; from whence he went to Paris; where he joined the Queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, at the time the Earl of Eſſex conducted the parliamentary army to the weſt.

In the other parts of England, Hereford was taken by ſurprize: Cheſter ſurrendered: Lord Digby, who had attempted, with 1200 horſe, to break into Scotland and join Montroſe, was defeated at Sherburn, in Yorkſhire, by Colonel Copley; his whole force diſperſed; and he himſelf obliged to fly, firſt to the iſle of Man, and thence into Ireland. News too arrived that Montroſe himſelf, after ſome more ſucceſſes, was at laſt routed; and this only remaining hope of the royal party finally extinguiſhed.

When Montroſe deſcended into the ſouthern counties, the covenanters, aſſembling their whole force, met him with a numerous army, and gave him battle, but without ſucceſs, at Kilſyth [c]. This was the moſt compleat victory which Montroſe ever obtained. The royaliſts put to ſword ſix thouſand of their enemies, and left the covenanters no remains of any army in Scotland. The whole kingdom was ſhook with theſe repeated ſucceſſes; and many noblemen, who ſecretly favour'd the royal cauſe, now declared openly for it, when they ſaw a force able to ſupport them. The Marqueſs of Douglaſs, the Earls of Annandale and Hartfield, the Lords Fleming, Seton, Maderty, Carnegy, with many others, flocked to the royal ſtandard. Edinburgh opened its gates, and gave liberty to all the priſoners, which were there detained by the covenanters. Among the reſt, was the

[c] 15th of Auguſt 1645.

Lord

CHAP. LVIII.

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Lord

CHAP. LVIII.

Lord Ogilvy, ſon to Airly, whoſe family had contributed extremely to the victory, obtained at Kilſyth [a].

1646. DAVID LESLY was detached from the army in England, and marched to the relief of his diſtreſſed party in Scotland. Montroſe advanced ſtill farther to the ſouth, allured by vain hopes, both of rouzing to arms the Earls of Hume, Traquaire, and Roxborough, who had promiſed to join him; and of obtaining from England ſome ſupply of cavalry, of which he ſtood in great need. By the negligence of his ſcouts, Leſly, at Philip-haugh in the Forreſt, ſurprized his army, much diminiſhed in numbers, from the deſertion of the Highlanders, who had retired to the hills, according to cuſtom, in order to ſecure their plunder. After a ſharp conflict, where Montroſe exerted the moſt heroic valour, his forces were routed by Leſly's cavalry [e]. And he himſelf was obliged to fly with his broken forces into the mountains; where he again prepared himſelf for new battles and new enterprizes [f].

Defeat of Montroſe.

THE covenanters uſed the victory with great rigour. Their priſoners, Sir Robert Spotiſwood, ſecretary of ſtate, and ſon to the late primate, Sir Philip Niſbet, Sir William Rollo, Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Andrew Guthry, ſon to the biſhop of Murray, William Murray, ſon to the Earl of Tullibardine, were condemned and executed. The ſole crime, imputed to the ſecretary, was the delivering to Montroſe the King's commiſſion to be captain-general of Scotland. Lord Ogilvy, who was again taken priſoner, would have undergone the ſame fate, had not his ſiſter found means to procure his eſcape, by changing cloaths with him. For this inſtance of courage and dexterity, ſhe met with very harſh uſage. The clergy ſollicited the parliament that more royaliſts

[d] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 230, 231. Wiſhart. cap. 13. [e] 13th of Sept. 1645. [f] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 231.

might

might be executed; but could not obtain their request [g]. CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

After all these repeated disasters, which every where, befel the royal party, there remained only one body of troops, on which fortune could exercise her rigour. Lord Astley with a small army of 3000 men, chiefly cavalry, marching to Oxford, in order to join the King, was met at Stowe by Colonel Morgan, and utterly defeated; himself being taken prisoner. "You have done your "work," said Astley to the parliamentary officers; "and may now go to play, unless you choose to fall out "among yourselves [h]." 22d March.

The condition of the King, during this whole winter, was, to the last degree, disastrous and melancholy. As the dread of ills is commonly more oppressive than their real presence, perhaps in no period of his life was he more justly the object of compassion. His vigor of mind, which, tho' it sometimes failed him in acting, never deserted him in his sufferings, was what alone supported him; and he was determined, as he wrote to Lord Digby, if he could not live as a king to die like a gentleman; nor should any of his friends, he said, ever have reason to blush for the prince, whom they had so unfortunately served [i]. The murmurs of discontented officers, on the one hand, harrassed their unhappy sovereign; while they over-rated those services and sufferings, which, they now saw, must, for ever, be unrewarded [k]. The affectionate duty, on the other hand, of

g Guthry's Memoirs. Rush. vol. vii. p. 232.

h Rush. vol. vii. p. 141. It was the same Astley, who, before he charg'd at the Battle of Edgehill, made this short prayer, *O Lord! thou knowest how busy I must be this day. If I forget thee, do not thou forget me.* And with that rose up, and cry'd, *March on, Boys!* Warwick, p. 229. There were certainly much longer prayers said in the parliamentary army; but I doubt, if there was so good a one.

i Carte's Ormond, vol. iii. No. 433. k Walker, p. 147.

CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

his more generous friends, who reſpected his misfortunes and his virtues, as much as his dignity, muſt have wrung his heart with new ſorrow; when he reflected, that ſuch diſintereſted attachment would ſo ſoon be expoſed to the rigour of his implacable enemies. Repeated attempts, which he made for a peaceful and equitable accommodation with the parliament, ſerved to no purpoſe, but to convince them that the victory was intirely in their hands. They deigned not to make the leaſt reply to ſeveral of his meſſages, in which he deſired a paſſport for commiſſioners [l]. At laſt, after reproaching him with the blood ſpilt during the war, they told him, that they were preparing bills for him, and his paſſing them would be the beſt pledge of his inclination towards peace: In other words, he muſt yield at diſcretion [m]. He deſired a perſonal treaty, and offered to come to London, upon receiving a ſafe conduct for himſelf and his attendants: They abſolutely refuſed him acceſs, and iſſued orders for the guarding, that is, ſeizing his perſon, in caſe he ſhould attempt to viſit them [n]. A new accident, which happened in Ireland, ſerved to inflame the minds of men, and to increaſe thoſe calumnies, with which his enemies had ſo much loaded him, and which he ever regarded as the moſt grievous part of his misfortunes.

AFTER the ceſſation with the Iriſh rebels, the King was deſirous of concluding a final peace with them, and obtaining their aſſiſtance in England: And he gave authority to Ormond, Lord lieutenant, to promiſe them an abrogation of all the penal laws, enacted againſt catholics; together with the ſuſpenſion of Poining's ſtatute, with regard to ſome particular bills, which ſhould be agred on. Lord Herbert, created Earl of Glamorgan, (tho' his patent had not yet paſſed the ſeals) having occa-

[l] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 215, &c. Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 744.

[m] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 217, 219.

[n] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 249. Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 741.

ſion,

CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

sion for his private affairs to go to Ireland, the King considered that this Nobleman, being a catholic and allied to the best Irish families, might be of service: He also foresaw, that farther concessions with regard to religion might probably be demanded by the bigoted Irish; and that as these concessions, however necessary, would give great scandal to the protestant zealots in his three kingdoms, it would be requisite both to conceal them during some time, and to preserve Ormond's character by giving privately authority to Glamorgan to conclude and sign these articles. But as he had a better opinion of Glamorgan's zeal and affection for his service, than of his capacity, he injoined him to communicate all his measures to Ormond; and tho' the final conclusion of the treaty must be performed only in Glamorgan's own name, he was required to be directed, in the steps towards it, by the opinion of the Lord lieutenant. Glamorgan, bigoted to his religion, and passionate for the King's service, but guided in these pursuits by no manner of judgment or discretion, secretly, of himself, without any communication with Ormond, concluded a peace with the council of Kilkenny, and agreed in the King's name, that the Irish should enjoy all the churches, which they had ever been in possession of, since the commencement of their insurrection; on condition that they should assist the King in England with a body of ten thousand men. This transaction was discovered by accident. The titular archbishop of Tuam being killed by a sally of the garrison of Sligo, the articles of the treaty were found among his baggage, and were immediately published every where, and copies of them sent over to the English parliament [o]. The Lord lieutenant and Lord Digby, foreseeing the clamour which would be raised against the King, committed Glamorgan to prison, charged him with high treason for his temerity, and maintained that he

[o] Rush. vol. vii. p. 239.

CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

had acted altogether without any authority from his Majesty. The English parliament likewise neglected not so favourable an opportunity of reviving the old clamour with regard to the King's favour of popery, and accused him of delivering over, in a manner, the whole kingdom of Ireland to that hated sect. The King told them, "That the Earl of Glamorgan having made an offer "unto him to raise forces in the kingdom of Ireland, "and to conduct them into England for his Majesty's "service, had a commission to that purpose, and to that "purpose only, and that he had no commission at all to "treat of any thing else, without the privity and di-"rection of the Lord lieutenant, much less to capitu-"late any thing concerning religion, or any property "belonging either to church or laity." [p] Tho' this declaration seems to be agreeable to truth, it gave no satisfaction to the parliament; and some historians, even at present, when the antient bigotry is universally abated, are desirous of representing this very innocent transaction, in which the King was engaged by the most violent necessity, as a stain on the memory of that unfortunate prince [q].

HAVING

[p] Birch, p. 119.

[q] Dr. Birch has wrote a treatise on this subject, with all that care and accuracy, by which he has been enabled to throw light on many passages of the English history. It is not my business to oppose any facts contained in that gentleman's performance. I shall only produce arguments, which prove that Glamorgan, when he received his private commission, had injunctions from the King to act altogether in concert with Ormond. 1. It seems to be imply'd in the very words of the Commission. Glamorgan is empowered and authorised to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman catholics in Ireland. "If upon necessity any *(articles)* be condescended unto, wherein "the King's lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at present "publickly to own." Here no articles are mentioned, which are not fit to be communicated to Ormond, but only not fit for him and the King publickly to be seen in, and to avow. 2. The King's protestation to Ormond, ought, both on account of that prince's character, and the reasons he assigns, to have the greatest weight. The words are these, "Ormond, I cannot but "add

HAVING loſt all hope of prevailing over the rigour of the parliament, either by arms or by treaty, the only reſource, CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

"add to my long letter, that, upon the word of a chriſtian, I never intend-
"ed Glamorgan ſhould treat any thing without your approbation, much leſs
"without your knowledge. For beſides the injury to you, I was always dif-
"fident of his judgment (though I could not think him ſo extremely weak
"as now to my coſt I have found;) which you may eaſily perceive in a poſt-
"ſcript of a letter of mine to you." Carte, vol. ii. App. xxiii. It is impoſſible, that any man of honour, however he might diſſemble with his enemies, would aſſert a falſehood in ſo ſolemn a manner to his beſt friend; eſpecially where that perſon muſt have had opportunities of knowing the truth. The letter, whoſe poſtſcript is mentioned by the King, is to be found in Carte, vol. ii. App. xiii. 3. Mr. Carte has publiſhed a whole ſeries of the King's correſpondence with Ormond, from the time that Glamorgan came into Ireland; and it is evident that Charles all along conſiders the lord lieutenant as the only perſon who was conducting the negotiations with the Iriſh. The 31ſt of July 1645, after the battle of Naſeby, being reduced to great ſtraits, he writes earneſtly to Ormond to conclude a peace upon certain conditions mentioned, much inferior to thoſe granted by Glamorgan; and to come over himſelf with all the Iriſh he could engage in his ſervice. Carte, vol. iii. No. 400. This would have been a great abſurdity, if he had already fixed a different canal, by which, on very different conditions, he propoſed to eſtabliſh a peace. On the 22d of October, as his diſtreſſes multiply, he ſomewhat enlarges the conditions, though they ſtill fall ſhort of Glamorgan's: A new abſurdity! See Carte, vol. iii. p. 411. 4. But what is equivalent to a demonſtration, that Glamorgan was conſcious that he had no powers to conclude a treaty on theſe terms, or without conſulting the lord lieutenant, and did not even expect, that the King would ratify the articles, is the defeazance, which he gave to the Iriſh council at the time of ſigning the treaty. "The Earl of Glamor-
"gan does no way intend hereby to oblige his Majeſty other than he himſelf
"ſhall pleaſe, after he has received theſe 10,000 men, as a pledge and teſti-
"mony of the ſaid Roman catholics' loyalty and fidelity to his Majeſty; yet
"he promiſes faithfully, upon his word and honour, not to acquaint his Ma-
"jeſty with this defeazance, till he had endeavoured, as far as in him lay, to
"induce his Majeſty to the granting of the particulars in the ſaid articles:
"But that done, the ſaid commiſſioners diſcharge the ſaid Earl of Glamorgan,
"both in honour and conſcience, of any farther engagement to them there-
"in; though his Majeſty ſhould not be pleaſed to grant the ſaid particulars
"in the articles mentioned; the ſaid Earl having given them aſſurance, upon
"his word, honour, and voluntary oath, that he would never, to any perſon
"whatſoever, diſcover this defeazance in the interim without their conſents."
Dr. Birch, p. 96. All Glamorgan's view was to get troops for the King's

CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

ſource, which remained to the King, conſiſted in the inteſtine diſſentions, which ran very high among the parties. Preſbyterians and independents, even before their victory was fully compleated, fell into high conteſts about the diviſion of the ſpoil, and their religious as well as civil diſputes agitated the whole nation.

THE parliament, though they had very early aboliſhed epiſcopal authority, had not, during ſo long a time, ſubſtituted any other in its place; and their committees of religion had hitherto aſſumed the whole eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction: But they now eſtabliſhed, by an ordinance, the preſbyterian government in all its forms of *congregational*, *claſſical*, *provincial*, and *national* aſſemblies. All the inhabitants of each pariſh were ordered to meet and chuſe elders, on whom, together with the miniſter, was beſtowed the intire direction of all ſpiritual concerns within the congregation. A number of neighbouring

Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

ſervice, without hurting his own honour or his maſter's. The wonder only is, why the Iriſh accepted a treaty, which bound no body, and which the very perſon, who concludes it, ſeems to confeſs he does not expect to be ratified. They probably hoped, that the King would from their ſervices, be more eaſily induced to ratify a treaty which was concluded, than to conſent to its concluſion.

This note is ſomewhat different from that publiſhed in the firſt edition. On a review, I do not find that the King ever poſitively affirmed that Glamorgan's powers were forgeries. He ſays not ſo in his declaration to the parliament above-cited. In his letter to Ormond and the Iriſh council, he ſeems even to acknowledge their reality; at leaſt ſays that he might poſſibly have given him ſome powers to treat; though he always enjoined him to act in ſubordination to the lord lieutenant. Carte, vol. iii. p. 425.

Dr. Birch, in page 360, has publiſhed a letter of the King's to Glamorgan, where he ſays, "Howbeit I know you cannot be but confident of my making good all inſtructions and promiſes to you and the nuncio." But it is to be remarked, that this letter is dated in April 5, 1646; after there had been a new negotiation entered into between Glamorgan and the Iriſh, and after a proviſional treaty had even been concluded between them. See Dr. Birch, p. 179. The King's aſſurances, therefore, can plainly relate only to this recent tranſaction. The old treaty had long been diſavowed by the King, and ſuppoſed by all parties to be annulled.

pariſhes,

parishes, commonly between twelve and twenty, formed a classis; and the court, which governed this division, was composed of all the ministers, together with two, three, or four elders chosen from each parish. The provincial assembly retained an inspection over several neighbouring classes, and was composed intirely of clergymen: The national assembly was constituted in the same manner; and its authority extended over the whole kingdom. 'Tis probable, that the tyranny exercised by the Scots clergy, had given warning not to allow laymen a place in the provincial or national assemblies; lest the nobility and more considerable gentry, soliciting a seat in these great ecclesiastical courts, should bestow a consideration upon them, and render them, in the eyes of the multitude, a rival to the parliament. In the inferior courts, the mixture of the laity might serve rather to temper the zeal of the clergy [r].

But though the presbyterians, by the establishment of parity among the ecclesiastics, were so far gratified, they were denied satisfaction in several other points, on which they were extremely intent. The assembly of divines had voted presbytery to be of divine right: The parliament refused their assent to that decision [s]. Selden, Whitelock, and other political reasoners, assisted by the independents, had prevailed in this important deliberation. They thought, that had the bigoted religonists been able to get their heavenly charter recognized, the presbyters would soon become more dangerous to the magistrate than had ever been the prelatical clergy. These latter, while they claimed to themselves a divine right, admitted of a like origin to civil authority: The former, challenging to their own order a celestial pedigree, derived the legislative power from no more dignified a source than the voluntary association of the people.

[r] Rush. vol. vii. p. 224.

[s] Whitlocke, p. 106. Rush. vol. vii. p. 260, 261.

CHAP. LVIII.

1646. UNDER colour of keeping the sacraments from profanation, the clergy of all christian sects had assumed, what they call the power of the keys, or the right of fulminating excommunication. The example of Scotland was a sufficient lesson for the parliament to make provision against so severe a tyranny. They determined, by an ordinance, all the cases in which excommunication could be used. They allowed of appeals to the parliament from all ecclesiastical courts. And they appointed commissioners in each province to judge of such cases as fell not within their ordinance [t]. So much civil authority, intermixed with the ecclesiastical, gave disgust to all the zealots.

BUT nothing was attended with more universal scandal than the propensity of many in the parliament towards a toleration of the protestant sectaries. The presbyterians exclaimed, that this indulgence made the church of Christ resemble Noah's ark, and rendered it a receptacle for all unclean beasts. They insisted, that the least of Christ's truths was superior to all political considerations [u]. They maintained the eternal obligation of their covenant to extirpate heresy and schism. And they menaced all their opponents with the same rigid persecution, of which they had, themselves, so loudly complained, when held in subjection by the hierarchy.

SO great prudence and reserve, in such material points, does great honour to the parliament; and proves, that notwithstanding the prevalence of bigotry and fanaticism, there were many members, who had more enlarged views, and paid regard to the civil interests of society. These men, uniting themselves to the enthusiasts, whose genius is naturally averse to clerical usurpations, exercised so jealous an authority over the assembly of divines, that they allowed them nothing but the liberty of ten-

[t] Rush. vol. vii. p. 210. [u] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 308.

dering advice, and would not entruſt them even with the power of electing their own chairman or his ſubſtitute, or of ſupplying the vacancies of their own members. CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

WHILE the diſputes were canvaſſed by theologians, who engaged in their ſpiritual conteſts every order of the ſtate; the King, though he entertained hopes of reaping advantage from theſe diviſions, was much at a loſs what ſide it would be moſt for his intereſt to comply with. The preſbyterians were, by their principles, the leaſt averſe to regal authority; but were rigidly bent on the extirpation of prelacy; The independents were reſolute to lay the foundations of a republican government; but as they pretended not to erect themſelves into a national church, it might be hoped, that, if gratified with a toleration, they would admit the re-eſtabliſhment of the hierarchy. So great attachment had the King to epiſcopal juriſdiction, that he was ever inclined to put it in ballance even with his own power and kingly office.

BUT whatever advantage he might propoſe to reap from the diviſions of the parliamentary party, he was apprehenſive, that it would come too late, to ſave him from that deſtruction with which he was inſtantly threatened. Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper meaſures for laying ſiege to Oxford, which muſt infallibly fall into his hands. To be taken captive, and led in triumph by his inſolent enemies, was what Charles juſtly abhorred; and every inſult, if not violence, was to be dreaded, from that enthuſiaſtic ſoldiery, who hated his perſon, and deſpiſed his dignity. In this deſperate extremity, he embraced a meaſure, which, in any other ſituation, might juſtly lie under the imputation of imprudence and indiſcretion.

MONTRE-

CHAP. LVIII.

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MONTRE-

CHAP. LVIII.

1649.

MONTREVILLE, the French miniſter, intereſted for the King more by the natural ſentiments of humanity, than any inſtructions from his court, which ſeemed rather to favour the parliament, had ſollicited the Scots generals and commiſſioners, to give protection to their diſtreſſed ſovereign; and having received many general profeſſions and promiſes, he had always tranſmitted theſe, perhaps with ſome exaggeration, to the King. From his ſuggeſtions, Charles began to entertain thoughts of leaving Oxford, and flying to the Scots army, which at that time lay before Newark [w]. He conſidered that the Scots nation had been fully gratified in all their demands; and having already, in their own country, annihilated both epiſcopacy and regal authority, had no farther conceſſions to exact of him. In all diſputes, which had paſſed about ſettling the terms of peace, the Scots, he heard, had ſtill adhered to the milder ſide, and had endeavoured to ſoften the rigour of the Engliſh parliament. Great diſguſts alſo, on other accounts, had taken place between the nations; and the Scots found, that, in proportion as their aſſiſtance became leſs neceſſary, leſs value was put upon them. The progreſs of the independents gave them great alarm; and they were ſcandalized to hear their beloved covenant ſpoken of every day, with leſs regard and reverence. The refuſal of a divine right to preſbytery, and the infringing eccleſiaſtical diſcipline from political conſiderations, were, to them, the ſubject of much offence; and the King hoped, that, in their preſent diſpoſition, the ſight of their native prince, flying to them in this extremity of diſtreſs, would rouze every ſpark of generoſity in their boſom, and procure him their favour and protection.

THAT he might the better conceal his intention, orders were given at every gate in Oxford, for allowing three perſons to paſs; and in the night, the King, accompanied

[w] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 750. vol. v. p. 16.

only

only with Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, went out at that gate, which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, and called himself Ashburnham's servant. He passed through St. Albans, Henley, and came so near London as Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained some thoughts of entering into that city, and of throwing himself on the mercy of the parliament. But at last, after passing through many cross roads, he arrived at the Scots camp before Newark [x]. The parliament, hearing of his escape from Oxford, issued rigorous orders, and threatened with instant death, whoever should harbour or conceal him [y]. 1646. 5th of May.

The Scots generals and commissioners affected great surprize at the appearance of the King: And though they payed him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, they instantly put a guard upon him, under colour of protection; and made him in reality a prisoner. They informed the English parliament of this unexpected incident, and assured them, that they had entered into no private treaty with the King. They applied to him for orders to Bellasis, governor of Newark, to surrender that town, now reduced to extremity; and the orders were instantly obeyed. And hearing that the parliament laid claim to the entire disposal of the King's person, and that the English army were making some motions towards them; they thought proper to retire northwards, and fixed their camp at Newcastle [z]. King goes to the Scots camp at Newark.

This measure was very agreeable to the King; and he began to entertain hopes of protection from the Scots. He was particularly attentive to the behaviour of their preachers, on whom all depended. It was the mode of that age to make the pulpit the scene of news; and on every great event, the whole Scripture was ransacked by the clergy, for passages applicable to the present occasion.

x Rush. vol. vii. p. 267. y Whitlocke, p. 209. z Rush. vol. vii. p. 271. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 23.

The

CHAP. LVIII. 1649.

MONTREVILLE, the French minister, interested for the King more by the natural sentiments of humanity, than any instructions from his court, which seemed rather to favour the parliament, had sollicited the Scots generals and commissioners, to give protection to their distressed sovereign; and having received many general professions and promises, he had always transmitted these, perhaps with some exaggeration, to the King. From his suggestions, Charles began to entertain thoughts of leaving Oxford, and flying to the Scots army, which at that time lay before Newark [w]. He considered that the Scots nation had been fully gratified in all their demands; and having already, in their own country, annihilated both episcopacy and regal authority, had no farther concessions to exact of him. In all disputes, which had passed about settling the terms of peace, the Scots, he heard, had still adhered to the milder side, and had endeavoured to soften the rigour of the English parliament. Great disgusts also, on other accounts, had taken place between the nations; and the Scots found, that, in proportion as their assistance became less necessary, less value was put upon them. The progress of the independents gave them great alarm; and they were scandalized to hear their beloved covenant spoken of every day, with less regard and reverence. The refusal of a divine right to presbytery, and the infringing ecclesiastical discipline from political considerations, were, to them, the subject of much offence; and the King hoped, that, in their present disposition, the sight of their native prince, flying to them in this extremity of distress, would rouze every spark of generosity in their bosom, and procure him their favour and protection.

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[w] Clarendon, vol. iv. p. 750. vol. v. p. 16.

only with Dr. Hudſon and Mr. Aſhburnham, went out at that gate, which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, and called himſelf Aſhburnham's ſervant. He paſſed through St. Albans, Henley, and came ſo near London as Harrow on the Hill. He once entertained ſome thoughts of entering into that city, and of throwing himſelf on the mercy of the parliament. But at laſt, after paſſing through many croſs roads, he arrived at the Scots camp before Newark [x]. The parliament, hearing of his eſcape from Oxford, iſſued rigorous orders, and threatened with inſtant death, whoever ſhould harbour or conceal him [y]. CHAP. LVIII. 1646. 5th of May.

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THIS meaſure was very agreeable to the King; and he began to entertain hopes of protection from the Scots. He was particularly attentive to the behaviour of their preachers, on whom all depended. It was the mode of that age to make the pulpit the ſcene of news; and on every great event, the whole Scripture was ranſacked by the clergy, for paſſages applicable to the preſent occaſion.

x Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 267. y Whitlocke, p. 209. z Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 271. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 23.

The

CHAP. LVIII. 1656.

The firſt miniſter who preached before the King, choſe theſe words for his text. "And behold all the men of Iſrael "came to the king, and ſaid unto him, Why have our "brethren the men of Judah, ſtolen thee away, and "have brought the king and his houſhold, and all Da-"vid's men with him, over Jordan? And all the men "of Judah anſwered the men of Iſrael, Becauſe the "king is near of kin to us; wherefore then be ye angry "for this matter? Have we eaten at all of the King's "coſt? or hath he given us any gift? And the men of "Iſrael anſwered the men of Judah, and ſaid, we have "ten parts in the king, and we have alſo more right in "David than ye: Why then did ye deſpiſe us, that our "advice ſhould not be firſt had in bringing back our "king? And the words of the men of Judah were "fiercer than the words of the men of Iſrael [a]." But the King ſoon found, that the happineſs of the alluſion chiefly had tempted the preacher to employ this text, and that the covenanting zealots were no wiſe pacified towards him. Another preacher, after reproaching him to his face, with his miſgovernment, ordered this pſalm to be ſung;

Why doſt thou, tyrant, boaſt thyſelf
Thy wicked deeds to praiſe:

The King ſtood up, and called for that pſalm which begins with theſe words,

Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray;
For men would me devour:

The good-natured audience, in pity to fallen majeſty, ſhowed, for once, greater deference to the King than to

[a] 2 Sam. chap. xix. 41, 42, and 43 verſes. See Clarendon, vol. v p. 23, 24.

the

the miniſter, and ſung the pſalm which the former had called for [b].

CHAP. LVIII. 1646

CHARLES had very little reaſon to be pleaſed with his ſituation. Not only he found himſelf a priſoner, very narrowly guarded: All his friends were kept at a diſtance; and no intercourſe, either by letters or converſation, was allowed him with any one, on whom he could depend, or who was ſuſpected of any attachment to him. The Scots generals would enter into no confidence with him; and ſtill treated him with diſtant ceremony and feigned reſpect. And every propoſal, which they made him, tended farther to his abaſement and his ruin [c].

THEY required him to iſſue orders to Oxford, and all his other garriſons, commanding their ſurrender to the parliament: And the King, ſenſible that their reſiſtance was to very little purpoſe, willingly complied. The terms which were given to moſt of them, were honourable; and Fairfax, as far as lay in his power, was very exact in obſerving them. Far from allowing violence, he would not even permit inſults or triumph over the unfortunate royaliſts; and by his generous humanity, ſo cruel a civil war ended, in appearance, very calmly, between the parties.

ORMOND having received like orders, delivered Dublin, and other forts, into the hands of the parliamentary officers. Montroſe alſo, after having experienced ſtill more variety of good and bad fortune, threw down his arms, and retired out of the kingdom.

THE Marqueſs of Worceſter, a man paſt eighty-four, was the laſt in England who ſubmitted to the authority of the parliament. He defended Raglan caſtle to extremity; and opened not its gates till the middle of Auguſt. Four years, a few days excepted, were now elapſed, ſince

[b] Whitlocke, p. 234. [c] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 30.

the

CHAP. LVIII.

1646.

the King first erected his standard at Nottingham [d]. So long had the British nations, by civil and religious quarrels, been occupied in shedding their own blood, and laying waste their mother-country.

THE parliament and the Scots laid their proposals before the King. They were such as a captive, entirely at mercy, could expect from the most inexorable victor: Yet were they little worse than what were insisted on before the battle of Naseby. The power of the sword, instead of ten, which the King now offered, was demanded for twenty years, together with a right to levy whatever money the parliament should think proper for the support of their armies. The other conditions were, in the main, the same with those which were formerly offered to the King [e].

CHARLES said, that proposals, which introduced such important innovations in the constitution, demanded time for deliberation: The commissioners replied, that he must give his answer in ten days [f]. He desired to reason about the meaning and import of the terms: They informed him, that they had no power of debate; and required peremptorily his consent or refusal. He requested a personal treaty with the parliament: They threatened, that, if he delayed compliance, the parliament would, by their own authority, settle the nation.

WHAT the parliament was most intent upon, was not the treaty with the King, to whom they paid little regard; but that with the Scots nation. Two important points remained to be settled with them; their delivery of the King, and the estimation of their arrears.

THE Scots pretended, that, as Charles was King of Scotland as well as of England, they were intitled to an equal vote in the disposal of his person: And that, in such a case, where the titles are equal, and the subject

[d] Rush. vol. vi. p. 293. [e] Ibid. p. 309. [f] Ibid. vol vii. p. 319.

indivisible,

indiviſible, the preference was due to the preſent poſſeſſor. The Engliſh maintained, that, the King, being in England, was comprehended within the juriſdiction of that kingdom, and could not be diſpoſed of by any foreign nation. A delicate queſtion this, and what ſurely could not be decided by precedent; ſince ſuch a ſituation is not, any where, to be found in hiſtory [g].

As the Scots concurred with the Engliſh, in impoſing ſuch rigorous conditions on the King, that, notwithſtanding his unfortunate ſituation, he ſtill refuſed to accept of them; it is certain, that they did not deſire his freedom: nor could they ever intend to join lenity and tyranny together, in ſo inconſiſtent a manner. Before the ſettlement of terms, the adminiſtration muſt be poſſeſſed intirely by the parliaments of both kingdoms; and how incompatible that ſcheme with the liberty of the King, is eaſily imagined. To carry him a priſoner into Scotland, where few forces could be ſupported in order to guard him, was a meaſure ſo full of inconvenience and danger, that, even if the Engliſh had conſented to it, it muſt have appeared to the Scots nation altogether ineligible: And how could ſuch a plan be ſupported in oppoſition to England, poſſeſſed of ſuch numerous, and victorious armies, which were, at that time, or at leaſt, ſeemed to be, in intire union with the parliament? The only expedient, it is obvious, which the Scots could embrace, if they ſcrupled intirely to abandon the King, was immediately to return, fully and cordially, to their allegiance; and, uniting themſelves with the royaliſts of both kingdoms, endeavour, by force of arms, to reduce the Engliſh parliament to more moderate conditions: But beſides that this meaſure was full of extreme hazard; what was it but inſtantly to combine with their old enemies againſt their old friends, and in a fit of romantic generoſity, overturn what, with ſo much ex-

[g] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 339.

pence

CHAP. LVIII. 1646.

pence of blood and treaſure, they had, during the courſe of ſo many years, been ſo carefully erecting?

BUT, though all theſe reflections occurred to the Scots commiſſioners, they reſolved to prolong the diſpute, and to keep the King as a pledge for thoſe arrears, which they claimed from England, and which they were not likely, in the preſent diſpoſition of that nation, to obtain by any other expedient. The ſum, by their account, amounted to two millions: For they had received very little regular pay, ſince they had entered England. And though the contributions which they had levied, as well as the price of their living on free quarters, muſt be deducted; yet ſtill the ſum, which they inſiſted on, was very conſiderable. After many diſcuſſions, it was, at laſt, agreed, that, in lieu of all demands, they ſhould accept of 400,000 pounds, one half to be paid inſtantly, another within a twelve-month [h].

GREAT pains were taken by the Scots (and the Engliſh complied with their pretended delicacy) to make this eſtimation and payment of arrears appear a quite different tranſaction from that for the delivery of the King's perſon: But common ſenſe requires, that they ſhould be regarded as one and the ſame. The Engliſh, it is evident, had they not been previouſly aſſured of receiving the King, would never have parted with ſo conſiderable a ſum, and, while they weakened themſelves, by the ſame meaſure have ſtrengthened a people, with whom they ſhould afterwards have ſo material an intereſt to diſcuſs.

THUS the Scots nation underwent, and ſtill undergo (for ſuch grievous ſtains are not eaſily wiped off) the reproach of ſelling their King, and bargaining their prince for money. In vain, did they maintain, That this money was, on account of former ſervices, un-

[h] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 326.

doubtedly

doubtedly their due; that in their present situation, no other measure, without the utmost indiscretion, or even their apparent ruin, could be embraced; that though they delivered their King into the hands of his open enemies, they were themselves as much his open enemies as those to whom they surrendered him, and their common hatred against him had long united the two parties in strict alliance with each other. They were still answered, that they made use of this scandalous expedient to obtain their wages; and that, after taking arms, without any provocation, against their sovereign, who had ever loved and cherished them, they had deservedly fallen into a situation, from which they could not extricate themselves, without either infamy or imprudence.

THE infamy of this bargain had such influence on the Scots parliament, that they once voted, that the King should be protected and his liberty insisted on. But the general assembly interposed, and pronounced, that, as he had refused to take the covenant, which was pressed on him, it became not the godly to concern themselves about his fortunes. After this declaration, it behoved the parliament to retract their vote.

INTELLIGENCE of the final resolution of the Scots nation to deliver him up, was brought to the King; and he happened, at that very time, to be playing at chess [1]. Such command of temper did he enjoy, that he continued his game without interruption; and none of the by-standers could perceive, that the letter, which he perused, had brought him news of any consequence. The English commissioners, who, some days after, came to take him under their custody, were admitted to kiss his hands; and he received them with the same grace and chearfulness, as if they had travelled on no other

[1] Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons.

CHAP. LVIII.

1646.

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[h] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 326.

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[1] Burnet's Memoirs of the Hamiltons.

CHAP. LVIII.

errand, but to pay court to him. The old Earl of Pembroke in particular, who was one of them, he congratulated on his ſtrength and vigour, that he was ſtill able, during ſuch a ſeaſon, to perform ſo long a journey, in company with ſo many young people.

1646.

1647. King delivered up by the Scots.

THE King, being delivered over by the Scots to the Engliſh commiſſioners, was conducted, under a guard, to Holmby, in the county of Northampton. On his journey, the whole country flocked to behold him, moved partly by curioſity, partly by compaſſion and affection. If any ſtill retained rancour againſt him, in his preſent condition, they paſſed in ſilence; while his well-wiſhers, more generous than prudent, accompanied his march with tears, with acclamations, and with prayers for his ſafety [k]. That ancient ſuperſtition likewiſe, of deſiring the King's touch in ſcrophulous diſtempers, ſeemed to acquire freſh credit among the people, from the general tenderneſs, which began to prevail for this virtuous and unhappy monarch.

THE commiſſioners rendered his confinement at Holmby very rigorous; diſmiſſing all his antient ſervants, debarring him from all viſits, and cutting off all communication with his friends or family. The parliament, though earneſtly applied to by the King, refuſed to allow his chaplains to attend him; becauſe they had not taken the covenant. The King refuſed to aſſiſt at the ſervice, exerciſed according to the Directory; becauſe he had not, as yet, given his conſent to that mode of worſhip [l]. Such religious zeal prevailed on both ſides! And ſuch was the divided and diſtracted condition, to which it had reduced the King and people!

DURING the time, that the King remained in the Scots army at Newcaſtle, died the earl of Eſſex, the diſcarded, but ſtill powerful and popular general of the

[k] Ludlow, Herbert. [l] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 39. Warwick, p. 298.

parliament.

parliament. His death, in this conjuncture, was a public misfortune. Fully ſenſible of the miſchievous extremities, to which affairs had been carried, and of the worſe conſequences, which were ſtill to be apprehended; he had reſolved to conciliate a peace, and to remedy, as far as poſſible, all thoſe ills, to which, from miſtake, rather than any bad intentions, he had himſelf ſo much contributed. The preſbyterian, or the moderate party among the commons, found themſelves conſiderably weakened by his death: And the ſmall remains of authority, which ſtill adhered to the houſe of peers, were, in a manner, wholly extinguiſhed [m].

CHA. LVIII. 1647.

[m] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 43.

CHAP. LIX.

Mutiny of the army.——The King ſeized by Joyce.——The army march againſt the parliament.——The army ſubdue the parliament.——The King flies to the iſle of Wight.——Second civil war.——Invaſion from Scotland.——The treaty of Newport.——The civil war and invaſion repreſſed.——The King ſeized again by the army.——The houſe purged.——The King's trial.——And execution.——And character.

CHAP. LIX.

1647. THE dominion of the parliament was of very ſhort duration. No ſooner had they ſubdued their ſovereign, than their own ſervants roſe up againſt them, and tumbled them from their ſlippery throne. The ſacred boundaries of the laws being once violated, nothing remained to confine the wild projects of zeal and ambition. And every ſucceſſive revolution became a precedent for that which followed it.

IN proportion as the terror of the King's power diminiſhed, the diviſions between independent and preſbyterian became every day more apparent; and the neuters found it, at laſt, requiſite to ſeek ſhelter in one or the other faction. Many new writs were iſſued for elections, in room of members, who had died, or were diſqualified for adhering to the King; yet ſtill the preſbyterians retained the ſuperiority among the commons: And all the peers, except Lord Say, were eſteemed of that party. The independents, to whom all the inferior ſectaries adhered, predominated in the army: And the troops of the new model were univerſally affected with that enthuſiaſtic ſpirit. To their aſſiſtance did the independent party, among the commons, chiefly truſt, in their projects for acquiring the aſcendant over their antagoniſts.

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

SOON after the retreat of the Scots, the presbyterians, seeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of dismissing a considerable part of the army: And, on pretence of easing the public burthens, they levelled a deadly blow at the opposite faction. They proposed to embark a strong detachment, under Skippon and Massey, for the service of Ireland: They openly declared their intention of making a great reduction of the remainder [a]. It was even imagined, that another new model of the army was projected, in order to regain to the presbyterians, that superiority, which they had so imprudently lost by the former [b].

THE army had small inclination to the service of Ireland; a country barbarous, uncultivated, and laid waste by massacres, and civil commotions: They had less inclination to disband, and to renounce that pay, which, having earned it through fatigues and dangers, they now proposed to enjoy in ease and tranquillity. And most of the officers, being raised from the dregs of the people, had no other prospect, if deprived of their commission, than that of returning to languish in their native poverty and obscurity.

THESE motives of interest acquired additional influence, and became more dangerous to the parliament, from the religious spirit, by which the army was universally animated. Among the generality of men, educated in regular, civilized societies, the sentiments of shame, duty, honour, have considerable authority, and serve to counterballance and direct the motives, derived from private advantage: But, by the predominancy of enthusiasm among the parliamentary forces, all these salutary principles lost their credit, and were regarded as

[a] Fourteen thousand men were only proposed to be kept up; 6000 horse, 6000 foot, and 2000 dragoons. Bates.

[b] Rush. vol. vii. p. 564.

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

mere human inventions, yea moral inſtitutions, fitter for heathens than for chriſtians [c]. The ſaint, reſigned over to ſuperior guidance, was at full liberty to gratify all his appetites, diſguiſed under the appearance of pious zeal. And, beſides the ſtrange corruptions engendered by this ſpirit, it eluded and looſened all the ties of morality, and gave intire ſcope, and even ſanction to the ſelfiſhneſs and ambition, which naturally adhere to the human mind.

THE military confeſſors were farther encouraged in diſobedience to ſuperiors, by that ſpiritual pride, to which a miſtaken piety is ſo ſubject. They were not, they ſaid, mere janizaries; mercenary troops inliſted for hire, and to be diſpoſed of at the will of their paymaſters [d]. Religion and liberty were the motives, which had excited them to arms; and they had a ſuperior right to ſee thoſe bleſſings, which they had purchaſed with their blood, enſured to future generations. By the ſame title, that the preſbyterians, in contradiſtinction to the royaliſts, had appropriated to themſelves the epithet of the *godly*, or the *well-affected* [e]; the independents did now, in contradiſtinction to the preſbyterians, aſſume this magnificent appellation, and arrogate all the aſcendant, which naturally belongs to it.

HEARING of parties in the houſe of commons, and being informed, that the minority were friends to the army, the majority enemies; the troops naturally intereſted themſelves in that dangerous diſtinction, and were eager to give the ſuperiority to their partizans. Whatever hardſhips they underwent, though perhaps derived from inevitable neceſſity, were aſcribed to a ſettled deſign of oppreſſing them, and reſented as an effect of the animoſity and malice of their antagoniſts.

[c] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 134. [d] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 565. [e] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 474.

NOTWITH-

CHAP. LIX.

1647.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great revenue, which accrued from taxes, aſſeſſments, ſequeſtrations, and compoſitions, conſiderable arrears were due to the army; and many of the private men, as well as officers, had near a twelvemonth's pay ſtill owing them. The army ſuſpected, that this deficiency was purpoſely contrived, in order to oblige them to live on free quarter; and, by rendering them odious to the country, ſerve as a pretence for diſbanding them. When they ſaw ſuch members, as were employed in committees and civil offices, accumulate great fortunes, they accuſed them of rapine and public plunder. And, as no plan was pointed out by the commons for the payment of arrears, the ſoldiers dreaded, that, after they ſhould be diſbanded or embarked for Ireland, their enemies, who predominated in the two houſes, would intirely defraud them of their right, and oppreſs them with impunity.

Mutiny of the army.

ON this ground or pretence did the firſt commotions begin in the army. A petition, addreſſed to Fairfax the general, was handed about; deſiring an indemnity, and that ratified by the King, for any illegal actions, of which, during the courſe of the war, the ſoldiers might have been guilty; together with ſatisfaction in arrears, freedom from preſſing, relief of widows and maimed ſoldiers, and pay till diſbanded. The commons, aware of what combuſtible materials the army was compoſed, were alarmed at this intelligence. Such a combination, they knew, if not checked in its firſt appearance, muſt be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, and muſt ſoon exalt the military above the civil authority. Beſides ſummoning ſome officers to anſwer for this attempt, they immediately voted, that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obſtruct the relief of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed againſt the promoters of it, as enemies to the ſtate, and diſturbers of public peace. This

March 30.

CHAP. LIX.

1647.

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[c] Ruſh. vol. vi. p. 1341. [d] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 565. [e] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 474.

NOTWITH-

CHAP. LIX.

1647.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great revenue, which accrued from taxes, assessments, sequestrations, and compositions, considerable arrears were due to the army; and many of the private men, as well as officers, had near a twelvemonth's pay still owing them. The army suspected, that this deficiency was purposely contrived, in order to oblige them to live on free quarter; and, by rendering them odious to the country, serve as a pretence for disbanding them. When they saw such members, as were employed in committees and civil offices, accumulate great fortunes, they accused them of rapine and public plunder. And, as no plan was pointed out by the commons for the payment of arrears, the soldiers dreaded, that, after they should be disbanded or embarked for Ireland, their enemies, who predominated in the two houses, would intirely defraud them of their right, and oppress them with impunity.

Mutiny of the army.

ON this ground or pretence did the first commotions begin in the army. A petition, addressed to Fairfax the general, was handed about; desiring an indemnity, and that ratified by the King, for any illegal actions, of which, during the course of the war, the soldiers might have been guilty; together with satisfaction in arrears, freedom from pressing, relief of widows and maimed soldiers, and pay till disbanded. The commons, aware of what combustible materials the army was composed, were alarmed at this intelligence. Such a combination, they knew, if not checked in its first appearance, must be attended with the most dangerous consequences, and must soon exalt the military above the civil authority. Besides summoning some officers to answer for this attempt, they immediately voted, that the petition tended to introduce mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and to obstruct the relief of Ireland; and they threatened to proceed against the promoters of it, as enemies to the state, and disturbers of public peace. This

March 30.

CHAP. LIX.

1647.

declaration, which may be esteemed violent, especially as the army had some ground for complaint, produced very fatal effects. The soldiers lamented, That they were deprived of the privileges of Englishmen; that they were not allowed so much as to represent their grievances; that, while petitions from Essex and other places were openly encouraged against the army, their mouths were stopped; and that they, who were the authors of liberty to the nation, were reduced, by a faction in parliament, to the most grievous servitude.

In this disposition was the army found by Warwic, Dacres, Massey, and other commissioners; who were sent to make them proposals for entering into the service of Ireland [f]. Instead of inlisting, the generality objected to the terms; demanded an indemnity; were clamorous for their arrears: And, though they expressed no dissatisfaction against Skippon, who was appointed commander, they discovered much stronger inclination to serve under Fairfax and Cromwel [g]. Some officers, who were of the presbyterian party, having entered into engagements for this service, could prevail on very few of the soldiers to inlist under them. And, as they all lay under the grievous reproach of deserting the army, and betraying the interests of their companions; the rest were farther confirmed in that confederacy, which they had formed [h].

To petition and remonstrate being the most cautious way of conducting a confederacy, an application to parliament was signed by near 200 officers; in which they made their apology with a very imperious air, asserted their right of petitioning, and complained of that imputation thrown upon them by the former declaration of the lower house [i]. The private men likewise of some regiments sent a letter to Skippon; in which, together

[f] Rush. vol. vii. p. 457. vol. vii. p. 461. 556. [g] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 458. [h] Ibid. [i] Ibid. p. 468.

with

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

with inſiſting on the ſame topics, they lament, that deſigns were formed againſt them and many of the godly party in the kingdom; and declare, that they could not engage for Ireland, till they were ſatisfied in their expectations, and had their juſt deſires granted [k]. The army, in a word, felt their power, and reſolved to be maſters.

THE parliament too reſolved, if poſſible, to preſerve their dominion; but, being deſtitute of power, and not retaining much authority, it was not eaſy for them to employ any expedient, which could contribute to their purpoſe. The expedient, which they now made uſe of, was the worſt imaginable. They ſent Skippon, Cromwel, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to the head-quarters at Saffron-Weldon in Eſſex; and empowered them to make offers to the army, and inquire into the cauſe of its *diſtempers*. Theſe very generals, at leaſt the three laſt, 7th of May. were ſecretly the authors of all the diſcontents; and failed not to foment thoſe diſorders, which they pretended to appeaſe. By their ſuggeſtion, a meaſure was embraced, which, at once, brought matters to extremity, and rendered the mutiny incurable.

IN oppoſition to the parliament at Weſtminſter, a military parliament was formed. Together with a council of the principal officers, which was appointed after the model of the houſe of peers; a more free repreſentative of the army was compoſed, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of agitators, from each troop or company [l]. By this means, both the general humour of that time was gratified, intent on plans of imaginary republics; and an eaſy method contrived for conducting underhand, and propagating the ſedition of the army.

THIS terrible court, when aſſembled; having firſt de-

[k] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 474. [l] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 485. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 43.

clared,

CHAP. LIX.

1647.

clared, that they found no *distempers* in the army, but many *grievances*, under which it laboured; immediately voted the offers of the parliament unsatisfactory. Eight weeks pay alone, they said, was promised; a small portion of fifty-six weeks, which they pretended to be their due: No visible security was given for the remainder: And having been declared public enemies by the commons, they might hereafter be prosecuted as such, unless the declaration was recalled [m]. Before matters came to this height, Cromwel had posted up to London, on pretence of laying before the parliament the rising discontents of the army.

THE parliament made one vigorous effort more, to try the force of their authority: They voted, that all the troops, which did not engage for Ireland, should instantly be disbanded in their quarters [n]. At the same time, the council of the army ordered a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common interests. And while they thus prepared themselves for opposition to the parliament, they struck a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favour.

3d of June. The King seized by Joyce.

A party of five hundred horse appeared at Holmby, conducted by one Joyce, who had once been a taylor by profession; but was now advanced to the rank of cornet, and was an active agitator in the army. Without being opposed by the guard, whose affections were all on the same side; Joyce came into the King's presence, armed with pistols, and told him, that he must immediately go along with him. *Whither?* said the King. *To the army*; replied Joyce. *By what warrant?* asked the King. Joyce pointed to the soldiers, whom he brought along; tall, handsome, and well accoutered. *Your war-*

m Rush. vol. vii. p. 497, 505. Whitlocke, p. 250.

n Rush. vol. vii. p. 487.

rant

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

vant, said Charles smiling, *is wrote in fair characters, legible without spelling* °. The parliamentary commissioners came into the room: They asked Joyce, whether he had any orders from the parliament? He said, *No*: From the general? *No*: By what authority he came? He made the same reply as to the King: *They would write*, they said, *to the parliament to know their pleasure. You may do so*, replied Joyce; *but in the mean time the King must immediately go with me*. Resistance was vain. The King, after protracting the time as long as he could, went into his coach; and was safely conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triplo-Heath near Cambridge. The parliament, informed of this event by their commissioners, were thrown into the utmost consternation P.

FAIRFAX himself was no less surprized at the King's arrival. That bold measure, executed by Joyce, had never been communicated to the general. The orders were intirely verbal; and no body avowed them. And, while every one affected astonishment at the enterprize, Cromwel, by whose council it had been directed, arrived from London, and put an end to their deliberations.

THIS artful and audacious conspirator had conducted himself in the parliament with such profound dissimulation, with such refined hypocrisy, that he had long deceived those, who, being themselves very dextrous practitioners in the same arts, naturally entertained the more suspicion against others. At every intelligence of disorders in the army, he was moved to the highest pitch of grief and of anger. He wept bitterly: He lamented the misfortunes of his country: He advised every violent measure for suppressing the mutiny; and by these preci-

° Whitlocke, p. 254. Warwick, p. 299. P Rush. vol. vii. p. 514, 515. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 47.

pitant

CHAP. LIX.

1647.

pitant councils, at once ſeemed to evince his own ſincerity, and inflamed thoſe diſcontents, of which he intended to make advantage. He obteſted heaven and earth, that his devoted attachment to the parliament had rendered him ſo odious in the army, that his life, while among them, was in the utmoſt danger; and he had very narrowly eſcaped a conſpiracy, formed to aſſaſſinate him. But information being brought, that the moſt active officers and agitators were intirely his creatures, the parliamentary leaders ſecretly reſolved, that, next day, when he came to the houſe, an accuſation ſhould be entered againſt him, and he ſhould be ſent to the Tower [q]. Cromwel, who, in the conduct of his deſperate enterprizes, frequently approached to the very brink of deſtruction, knew how to make the requiſite turn with proper dexterity and boldneſs. Being informed of this deſign, he haſtened to the camp; where he was received with acclamations of joy, and was inſtantly inveſted with the ſupreme command both of general and army.

FAIRFAX, having neither talents himſelf for cabals, nor penetration to diſcover the cabals of others, had given his confidence intirely to Cromwel; who, by the beſt coloured pretences, and by the appearance of an open ſincerity and a ſcrupulous conſcience, impoſed on the eaſy nature of this brave and virtuous man. The council of officers and the agitators were moved altogether by Cromwel's direction, and conveyed his will to the whole army. By his profound and artful conduct, he had now attained a ſituation, where he could cover his enterprizes from public view; and ſeeming either to obey the commands of his ſuperior officer, or yield to the movements of the ſoldiers, could ſecretly pave the way for his future greatneſs. While the diſorders of the army were yet in their infancy, he kept at a diſtance;

[q] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 46.

leſt

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

leſt his counterfeit averſion might throw a damp upon them, or his ſecret encouragement beget ſuſpicion in the parliament. As ſoon as they came to maturity, he openly joined the army; and in the critical moment, ſtruck that important blow of ſeizing the King's perſon, and depriving the parliament of any reſource by an accommodation with him. Tho' one vizor fell off, another ſtill remained, to cover his natural countenance. Where delay was requiſite, he could employ the moſt indefatigable patience: Where celerity was neceſſary, he flew to a deciſion. And by thus uniting in his perſon the the moſt oppoſite talents, he was enabled to combine the moſt contrary intereſts in a ſubſerviency to his ſecret purpoſes.

The army march againſt the parliament.

THE parliament, tho' at preſent defenceleſs, were poſſeſſed of many reſources; and time might eaſily enable them to reſiſt that violence, with which they were threatened. Without farther deliberation, therefore, Cromwel advanced the army upon them, and arrived in a few days at St. Albans.

NOTHING could be more popular, than this hoſtility, which the army commenced againſt the parliament. As much as that aſſembly was once the idol of the nation, as much was it now become the object of general hatred and averſion.

THE ſelf-denying ordinance had no longer been put in execution, than till Eſſex, Mancheſter, Waller, and the other officers of that party, had reſigned their commiſſion: Immediately after, it was laid aſide by tacit conſent; and the members, ſharing all offices of power and profit among them, proceeded with impunity in exerciſing acts of oppreſſion on the helpleſs nation. Tho' the neceſſity of their ſituation might ſerve as an apology for many of their meaſures, the people, not accuſtomed to ſuch a ſpecies of government, were not diſpoſed to make the requiſite allowances.

A ſmall

CHAP. LIX.

1647.

A small supply of 100,000 pounds a year could scarce be obtained by the former kings from the jealous humour of the parliaments; and the English, of all nations in Europe, were the least accustomed to taxes: But this parliament, from the commencement of the war, according to some computations, had levied, in five years, above forty millions [r]; and yet were loaded with debts and incumbrances, which, during that age, were regarded as prodigious. If these computations should be thought much exaggerated, as they probably are, the taxes and impositions were certainly far higher than in any former state of the English government; and such popular exaggerations are, at least, a proof of popular discontents.

BUT the disposal of this money was no less the object of general complaint against the parliament than the levying it. The sum of 300,000 pounds they openly took, 'tis affirmed [s], and divided among their own members. The committees, to whom the management of the different branches of revenue was entrusted, never brought in their accounts, and had unlimited power of secreting whatever sums they pleased from the public treasure [t]. These branches were needlessly multiplied, in order to render the revenue more perplexed, to share the advantages among greater numbers, and to conceal the frauds of which they were universally suspected [u].

THE method of keeping accounts, practised in the exchequer, was confessedly the exactest, the most antient, the best known, and the least liable to fraud.

[r] Clement Walker's history of the two Juntos, prefixed to his history of independency, p. 8. This is an author of spirit and ingenuity; and being a zealous parliamentarian, his authority is very considerable, notwithstanding the air of satyre, which prevails in his writings. This computation, however, seems much too large: especially as the sequestrations, during the time of war, could not be so considerable as afterwards.

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The exchequer was, for that reaſon, aboliſhed, and the revenue put under the management of a committee, who were ſubject to no controul [w]. 1647.

THE exciſe was an odious tax, formerly unknown to the nation; and was now extended over proviſions, and the common neceſſaries of life. Near one half of the goods and chattels, and at leaſt one half of the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom, had been ſequeſtered. To great numbers of royaliſts, all redreſs from theſe ſequeſtrations was refuſed: To the reſt, the remedy could be obtained only by paying large compoſitions and ſubſcribing the covenant; which they abhorred. Beſides the ruin and deſolation of ſo many antient and honourable families; indifferent ſpectators could not but blame the hardſhip of puniſhing with ſuch ſeverity actions, which the law, in its uſual and moſt undiſputed interpretation, ſtrictly required of every ſubject.

THE ſeverities too, exerciſed againſt the epiſcopal clergy, naturally affected the royaliſts, and even all men of candor, in a ſenſible manner. By the moſt moderate computation [x], it appears, that above one half of the eſtabliſhed clergy had been turned out to beggary and want, for no other crime than their adherence to the civil and religious principles, in which they were educated; and for their attachment to thoſe laws, under whoſe countenance they had at firſt embraced that profeſſion. To renounce epiſcopacy and the liturgy, and to ſubſcribe the covenant, were the only terms, which could ſave them from ſo rigorous a fate; and if the leaſt mark of malignancy, as it was called, or affection to

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CHAP. LIX. 1647.

the King, who so intirely loved them, had ever escaped their lips, even this hard choice was not permitted. The sacred character, which gives the priesthood such authority over mankind, becoming more venerable from the sufferings, endured for the sake of principle, by their distressed royalists, aggravated the general indignation against their persecutors, who had robbed them of possessions, secured to them by every law, human and divine, with which the nation had hitherto been acquainted.

But what excited the most universal complaint was the unlimited tyranny and despotic rule of the country-committees. During the war, the discretionary power of these courts was excused, from the plea of necessity: But the nation was reduced to despair, when it saw neither end put to their duration, nor bounds to their authority. These could sequester, fine, imprison, and corporally punish, without law or remedy. They interposed in questions of private property. Under colour of malignancy, they exercised vengeance against their private enemies. To the obnoxious, and sometimes to the innocent, they sold their protection. And instead of one star-chamber, which had been abolished, a great number were anew erected, fortified with better pretences, and armed with more unlimited authority [y].

Could any thing have increased the indignation against that slavery, into which the nation, from the too eager pursuit of liberty, had fallen; it must have been the reflection on the pretences, by which the people had so long been deluded. The sanctified hypocrites, who

[y] Clement Walker's history of independency, p. 5. Hollis gives the same representation, as Walker, of the plundering, oppressions, and tyranny of the parliament: Only, instead of laying the fault on both parties, as Walker does, he ascribes it solely to the independent faction. The presbyterians indeed, being commonly denominated the *moderate* party, would probably be more inoffensive. See Rush. vol. vii. p. 598.

called

called their oppreſſions the ſpoiling the Egyptians, and their rigid ſeverity the dominion of the Elect, interlarded all their iniquities with long and fervent prayers, ſaved themſelves from bluſhing by their pious grimaces, and exerciſed, in the name of the Lord, all their cruelty on men. An undiſguiſed violence could be forgiven: But ſuch a mockery of the underſtanding, ſuch an abuſe of religion, were, with men of penetration, objects of peculiar reſentment. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

THE parliament, conſcious of their decay in popularity, ſeeing a formidable armed force advance upon them, were reduced to deſpair, and found all their reſources much inferior to the preſent neceſſity. London ſtill retained a ſtrong attachment to preſbyterianiſm; and its militia, which was numerous, and had acquired reputation in the wars, had, by a late ordinance, been put into hands, in whom the parliament could intirely confide. This militia were now called out, and ordered to guard the line, which had been drawn about the city, in order to ſecure it againſt the King. A body of horſe was ordered to be inſtantly levied. Many officers, who had been caſhiered by the new model of the army, offered their ſervice to the parliament. An army of 5000 men lay in the north under the command of General Pointz, who was of the preſbyterian faction; but theſe were too diſtant to be employed in ſo urgent a neceſſity. The forces, deſtined for Ireland, were quartered in the weſt; and, though deemed faithful to the parliament, they alſo lay at a diſtance. Many inland garriſons were commanded by officers of the ſame party; but their troops, being ſo much diſperſed, could, at preſent, be of no manner of ſervice. The Scots were faithful friends and zealous for preſbytery and the covenant: but a very long time was required, ere they could collect their forces, and march to the aſſiſtance of the parliament.

CHAP. LIX.

1647. 8th of June.

IN this situation it was thought more prudent to submit, and by compliance to stop the fury of the enraged army. The declaration, by which the military petitioners had been voted public enemies, was recalled, and erazed from the journal-book [z]. This was the first symptom which the parliament gave of submission; and the army, hoping, by terror alone, to effect all their purposes, stopped at St. Albans, and entered into negotiation with their masters.

HERE commenced the encroachments of the military upon the civil authority. The army, in their usurpations on the parliament, copied exactly the model, which the parliament had set them, in their recent usurpations on the crown.

EVERY day, they rose in their demands. If one claim was granted, they had another ready, still more enormous and exorbitant; and were determined never to be satisfied. At first, they pretended only to petition for what concerned themselves as soldiers: Next, they must have a vindication of their character: Then, it was necessary, that their enemies be punished [a]: At last, they claimed a right of modelling the whole government, and settling the nation [b].

THEY preserved, in words, all deference and respect to the parliament; but in reality, insulted them and tyrannized over them. That assembly they pretended not to accuse: It was only evil counsellors, who seduced and betrayed it.

26th of June.

THEY proceeded so far as to name eleven members, whom, in general terms, they charged with high treason, as enemies to the army and evil counsellors to the parliament. Their names were Hollis, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir

[z] Rush. vol. vii. p. 503. 547. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 45. [a] Rush. vol. vii. p. 509. [b] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 567. 633. Ibid. vol. viii. p. 731.

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THEY inſiſted, that theſe members ſhould immediately be ſequeſtred from parliament, and be thrown into priſon [d]. The commons replied, that they could not, upon a general charge, proceed ſo far [e]. The army obſerved to them, that the caſes of Strafford and Laud were direct precedents for that purpoſe [f]. At laſt, the eleven members themſelves, not to give occaſion to diſcord, begged leave to retire from the houſe: and the army, for the preſent, ſeemed ſatisfied with this proof of ſubmiſſion [g].

PRETENDING, that the parliament deſigned to levy war upon them, and to involve the nation again in blood and confuſion, they required, that all new levies ſhould be ſtopped. The parliament complied with this demand [h].

THERE being no ſigns of reſiſtance, the army, in order to ſave appearances, removed, at the deſire of the parliament, to a greater diſtance from London, and fixed their head quarters at Reading. They carried the King along with them in all their removes.

THAT Prince now found himſelf in a better ſituation than at Holmby, and had attained ſome greater degree of freedom, as well as of conſideration with both parties.

ALL his friends had acceſs to him: His correſpondence with the queen was not interrupted: His chaplains were reſtored, and he was allowed the uſe of the liturgy: His children were once allowed to viſit him, and paſſed a few days at Caverſham, where he then reſided [i]. He

[c] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 570. [d] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 572. [e] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 592. [f] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 594. Whitlocke, p. 259. [g] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 593, 594. [h] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 572. 574. [i] Clarendon, vol. i. p. 51, 52. 57.

CHAP. LIX.

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CHAP. LIX. 1647.

had not ſeen the Duke of Gloceſter, his youngeſt ſon, and the Princeſs Elizabeth, ſince he left London, at the commencement of the civil diſorders; nor the Duke of York, ſince he went to the Scots army before Newark. No private man, unacquainted with the pleaſures of a court, and the tumult of a camp, more paſſionately loved his family, than did this good Prince; and ſuch an inſtance of indulgence in the army was extremely grateful to him. Cromwel, who was witneſs to the meeting of the royal family, confeſſed, that he never had been preſent at ſo tender a ſcene; and he extremely applauded the benignity, which diſplayed itſelf in the whole diſpoſition and behaviour of Charles.

THAT artful politician, as well as the leaders of all parties, payed court to the King; and fortune, notwithſtanding all his calamities, ſeemed again to ſmile upon him. The parliament, afraid of his forming ſome accommodation with the army, ſpoke to him in a more reſpectful ſtyle than formerly; and invited him to reſide at Richmond, and contribute his aſſiſtance to the ſettlement of the nation. All the chief officers treated him with great regard, and talked every where of reſtoring him to his juſt powers and prerogatives. In the public declarations of the army, the ſettlement of his revenue and authority was inſiſted on [k]. The royaliſts, every where, entertained hopes of the reſtoration of monarchy; and the favour, which they univerſally bore the army, contributed very much to diſcourage the parliament, and to forward their ſubmiſſion.

THE King began to feel of what conſequence he was. The more the national confuſions increaſed, the more was he confident, that all parties would, at laſt, have recourſe to his lawful authority, as the only remedy for the public diſorders. *You cannot be without me*, ſaid he, on ſeveral occaſions: *You cannot compoſe the nation but by*

[k] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 590.

my

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

my aſſiſtance. A people without government and without liberty, a parliament without authority, an army without a legal maſter: Diſtractions every where, terrors, oppreſſions, convulſions: From this ſcene of confuſion, which could not long continue, all men, he hoped, would be brought to reflect on that antient government, under which they and their anceſtors had ſo long enjoyed happineſs and tranquillity.

THOUGH Charles kept his ears open to all propoſals, and expected to hold the ballance between the oppoſite parties, he entertained more hopes of accommodation with the army. He had experienced the extreme rigour of the parliament. They pretended totally to annihilate his authority: They had confined his perſon. In both theſe particulars, the army ſhowed more indulgence [1]. None of his friends were debarred his preſence. And in the propoſals, which the council of officers ſent for the ſettlement of the nation, they inſiſted neither on the abolition of epiſcopacy, nor on the puniſhment of the royaliſts; the two points to which the King had the moſt extreme reluctance: And they demanded that a period ſhould be put to the preſent parliament, the event for which he moſt ardently longed.

HIS conjunction too ſeemed more natural with the generals, than with that uſurping aſſembly, who had ſo long aſſumed the entire authority of the ſtate, and who had declared their reſolution ſtill to continue maſters. By gratifying a few perſons with titles and preferments, he might draw over, he hoped, the whole military power, and, in an inſtant, reinſtate himſelf in his civil authority. To Ireton he offered the lieutenancy of Ireland: To Cromwel, the garter, the title of Earl of Eſſex, and the command of the army. Negotiations to this purpoſe were ſecretly conducted. Cromwel pretended to hearken to them; and was pleaſed to keep the

[1] Warwick, p. 303.

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

door open for an accommodation, if the course of events should, at any time, render it necessary. And the King, who had no suspicion, that one, born a private gentleman, could entertain the daring ambition of seizing a sceptre, transmitted through a long line of monarchs; indulged hopes, that he would, at last, embrace a measure, which, by all the motives of duty, interest, and safety, seemed to be recommended to him.

WHILE Cromwel allured the King by these expectations, he still continued his scheme of reducing the parliament to subjection, and depriving them of all means of resistance. To gratify the army, the parliament invested Fairfax with the title of general in chief of all the forces in England and Ireland; and entrusted the whole military authority to a person, who, though well inclined to their service, was no longer at his own disposal.

THEY voted, that the troops, which, in obedience to them, had inlisted for Ireland, and deserted the rebellious army, should be disbanded, or, in other words, be punished for their fidelity. The forces in the north, under Pointz, had already mutined against their general, and had entered into an association with that body of the army, which was so successfully employed in exalting the military above the civil authority [m].

THAT no resource might remain to the parliament, it was demanded, that the militia of London should be changed, the presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those, who, during the course of the war, had constantly exercised it. The parliament even complied with so violent a demand, and passed a vote in obedience to the army [n].

BY this unlimited patience, they proposed to temporize under their present difficulties, and they hoped to

[m] Rush. vol. vii. p. 620. [n] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 629. 632.

find

find a more favourable opportunity for recovering their authority and influence: But the impatience of the city loſt them all the advantage of their cautious meaſures. A petition againſt the alteration of the militia was carried to Weſtminſter, attended by the apprentices and ſeditious multitude, who beſieged the door of the commons; and by their clamour, noiſe, and violence, obliged them to reverſe that vote, which they had paſſed ſo lately. When gratified in this pretenſion, they immediately diſperſed, and left the parliament at liberty [o].

CHAP. LIX. 1647. 20th of July.

No ſooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading, than the army were put in motion. The two houſes being under reſtraint, they were reſolved, they ſaid, to vindicate, againſt the ſeditious citizens, the invaded privileges of parliament, and reſtore that aſſembly to its juſt freedom of debate and council. In their way to London, they were drawn up on Hounſlow-Heath; a formidable army, twenty thouſand ſtrong, and determined, without regard to laws or liberty, to purſue whatever meaſures their generals ſhould dictate to them. Here the moſt favourable event happened, to quicken and encourage their advance. The ſpeakers of the two houſes, Mancheſter and Lenthal, attended with eight peers, and about ſixty commoners, having ſecretly retired from the city, preſented themſelves with their maces, and all the enſigns of their dignity; and complaining of the violence put upon them, applied to the army for defence and protection. They were received with ſhouts and acclamations: Reſpect was paid them as to the parliament of England: And the army being provided of ſo plauſible a pretence, which, in all public tranſactions, is of great conſequence, advanced to chaſtiſe the rebellious city, and to re-inſtate the violated parliament [p].

[o] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 641, 643. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 61. Whitlocke, p. 269. Cl. Walker, p. 38. [p] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 750. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 63.

CHAP. LIX.

1647. NEITHER Lenthal nor Mancheſter were eſteemed independents; and ſuch a ſtep in them was intirely unexpected. But they probably foreſaw, that the army muſt, in the end, prevail, and they were willing to pay court in time to that authority, which began to predominate in the nation.

THE parliament, forced from their temporizing meaſures, and obliged to reſign, at once, or combat for their liberty and power, prepared themſelves with vigour for defence, and determined to reſiſt the violence of the army. The two houſes immediately choſe new ſpeakers, Lord Hunſdon, and Henry Pelham: They renewed their former orders for inliſting troops: They appointed Maſſey to be commander: They ordered the trained bands to mann the lines: And the whole city was in a ferment, and reſounded with military preparations [q].

WHEN any intelligence arrived, that the army ſtopped or retreated, the ſhout of *One and all*, ran with alacrity, from ſtreet to ſtreet, among the citizens: When news came of their advancing, the cry of *Treat and capitulate* was no leſs loud and vehement [r]. The terror of an univerſal pillage, and even maſſacre, had ſeized the timid inhabitants.

As the army approached, Rainſborow, being ſent by the general over the river, preſented himſelf before Southwark, and was gladly received by ſome ſoldiers, who were quartered there for its defence, and who were reſolved not to ſeparate their intereſts from thoſe of the army.

6th of Aug. It behoved then the parliament to ſubmit. The army marched in triumph through the city; but preſerved the greateſt order, decency, and appearance of humility. They conducted to Weſtminſter the two ſpeakers, who took their ſeats as if nothing had happened. The eleven impeached members, being accuſed as cauſes of the tumult, were expelled; and moſt of them retired beyond

[q] Ruſh. vol. vii. p. 646. [r] Whitlocke, p. 265.

ſea:

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

sea: Seven peers were impeached: The mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen, sent to the Tower: Several citizens and officers of the militia, committed to prison: Every deed of the parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the speakers: The lines about the city levelled: The militia restored to the independents: Regiments quartered in Whitehall and the Meuse: And the parliament being reduced to a regular formed servitude, a day was appointed of solemn thanksgiving to God for the restoration of its liberty [s].

The army subdue the parliament.

The independent party exulted in their victory. The whole authority of the nation, they imagined, was lodged in their hands; and they had a near prospect of moulding the government into that imaginary republic, which had long been the object of their wishes. They had secretly concurred in all encroachments of the military power; and they expected, by the terror of the sword, to impose a more perfect system of liberty on the reluctant nation. All parties, the king, the church, the parliament, the presbyterians, had been guilty of errors, since the commencement of these disorders: But it must be confessed, that this delusion of the independents and republicans was, of all others, the most contrary to common sense and the established maxims of policy. Yet were the leaders of that party, Vane, Fiennes, St. John, Martin, the men in England the most celebrated for profound thought and deep contrivance; and by their well-coloured pretences and professions, they had over-reached the whole nation. To deceive such men would argue a superlative capacity in Cromwel; were it not, that, besides the great difference there is between dark, crooked councils and true wisdom, an exorbitant passion for rule and authority will make the most prudent overlook the dangerous consequences of such measures as seem to tend, in any degree, to their own advancement.

[s] Rush. vol. viii. p. 797, 798, &c.

THE

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

THE leaders of the army, having eſtabliſhed their dominion over the parliament and city, ventured to bring the King to Hampton-Court; and he lived, for ſome time, in that palace, with an appearance of dignity and freedom. Such admirable equability of temper did he poſſeſs, that, during all the variety of fortune, which he underwent, no difference was perceived in his countenance or behaviour; and tho' a priſoner, in the hands of his moſt inveterate enemies, he ſupported, towards all who approached him, the majeſty of a monarch; and that, neither with leſs nor greater ſtate, than what he had been accuſtomed to maintain. His manner, which was not in itſelf popular nor gracious, now appeared amiable, from its great meekneſs and equality.

THE parliament renewed their applications to him, and preſented him with the ſame conditions, which they had offered at Newcaſtle. The king declined accepting them, and deſired the parliament to take the propoſals of the army into conſideration, and make them the foundation of the public ſettlement [t]. He ſtill entertained hopes, that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with ſucceſs; tho' every thing, in that particular, bore daily a worſe aſpect. Moſt hiſtorians have thought, that Cromwel never was ſincere in his profeſſions; and that, having, by force, rendered himſelf maſter of the King's perſon, and, by fair pretences, acquired the countenance of the royaliſts, he had employed theſe advantages to the enſlaving the parliament: And afterwards thought of nothing but the eſtabliſhment of his own unlimited authority, with which he eſteemed the reſtoration, and even life of the King, altogether incompatible. This opinion, ſo much warranted by the exorbitant ambition and profound diſſimulation of his character, meets with ready belief; tho' 'tis more agreeable to the narrowneſs of human views, and the darkneſs

[t] Ruſh. vol. viii, p. 810.

of

of futurity, to ſuppoſe, that this daring uſurper was guided by events, and did not, as yet, foreſee, with any aſſurance, that unparalleled greatneſs, which he afterwards attained. Many writers of that age have aſſerted [u], that

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

[u] Salmonet, Ludlow, Hollis, &c. all theſe, eſpecially the laſt, being the declared inveterate enemies of Cromwel, are the more to be credited, when they advance any fact, which may ſerve to apologize for his violent and criminal conduct. There prevails a ſtory, that Cromwel intercepted a letter, wrote to the Queen, where the King ſaid, that he would firſt raiſe and then deſtroy Cromwel. But, beſides that this conduct ſeems to contradict the character of the King, it is, on other accounts, totally unworthy of credit. It is firſt told by Roger Coke, a very paſſionate and fooliſh hiſtorian, who wrote too ſo late as the revolution, and who mentions it only as a rumour. In the Memoirs of Lord Broghill, we meet with another ſtory of an intercepted letter, which deſerves ſome more attention, and agrees very well with the narration here given. It is thus related by Mr. Maurice, chaplain to Roger, Earl of Orrery. "Lord Orrery, in the time of his greatneſs with Cromwel, "juſt after he had ſo ſeaſonably relieved him in his great diſtreſs at Clonmell, "riding out of Youghall one day with him and Ireton, they fell into diſcourſe "about the King's death. Cromwel thereupon ſaid more than once, that if "the King had followed his own judgment, and had been attended by none "but truſty ſervants, he had fooled them all; and that once they had a "mind to have cloſed with him, but, upon ſomething that happened, "fell off from that deſign. Orrery finding them in good humour, and be-"ing alone with them, aſked, if he might preſume to deſire to know, why "they would once have cloſed with his Majeſty, and why they did not. "Cromwel very freely told him, he would ſatisfy him in both his queries. "The reaſon (ſays he) why we would have cloſed with the King was this: "We found that the Scotch and preſbyterians began to be more powerful "than we, and were likely to agree with him, and leave us in the lurch. "For this reaſon we thought it beſt to prevent them, by offering firſt to come "in upon reaſonable conditions: But whilſt our thoughts were taken up with "this ſubject, there came a letter to us from one of our ſpies, who was of "the King's bed-chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed "that very day; that he could not poſſibly learn what it was, but we might "diſcover it, if we could but intercept a letter ſent from the King to the "Queen, wherein he informed her of his reſolution; that this letter was "ſowen up in the ſkirt of a ſaddle, and the bearer of it would come with "the ſaddle upon his head, about ten of the clock that night, to the Blue "Boar in Holbourn, where he was to take horſe for Dover. The meſſenger "knew nothing of the letter in the ſaddle, tho' ſome in Dover did. We "were at Windſor (ſaid Cromwel) when we received this letter, and imme-"diately

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

that he really intended to make a private bargain with the King; a measure, which carried the most plausible appearance both for his safety and advancement: But that he found insuperable difficulties in reconciling to it the wild humours of the army. The horror and antipathy of these fanatics had, for many years, been artfully fomented against Charles; and tho' their principles were, on all occasions, easily warped and eluded by private interest, yet was some colouring requisite, and a flat contradiction to all former professions and tenets could not safely be proposed to them. 'Tis certain, at least, that Cromwel made use of this reason, why he admitted rarely of visits from the King's friends, and showed less favour than formerly to the royal cause. The agitators, he said, had rendered him odious to the army, and had represented him as a traitor, who, for the sake of private in-

" diately upon the receipt of it, Ireton and I resolved to take one trusty fellow " with us, and to go in troopers habits to that inn. We did so; and leaving our man at the gate of the inn, (which had a wicket only open to let " persons in and out) to watch and give us notice when any man came in with " a saddle, we went into a drinking-stall. We there continued, drinking " cans of beer, till about ten of the clock, when our centinel at the gate gave " us notice, that the man with the saddle was come. We rose up presently, " and just as the man was leading out his horse saddled, we came up to him " with drawn swords, and told him, we were to search all that went in and " out there; but as he looked like an honest man, we would only search his " saddle, and so dismiss him. The saddle was ungirt; we carried it into " the stall, where we had been drinking, and ripping open one of the skirts, " we there found the letter we wanted. Having thus got it into our hands, " we delivered the man (whom we had left with our centinel) his saddle, told " him he was an honest fellow, and bid him go about his business; which he " did, pursuing his journey without more ado, and ignorant of the harm he " had suffered. We found in the letter, that his Majesty acquainted the " Queen, that he was courted by both factions, the Scots presbyterians and " the army; and that those which bade the fairest for him should have him: " but yet he thought he should close with the Scotch sooner than with the " other. Upon this we returned to Windsor; and finding we were not like " to have good terms from the King, we from that time vowed his destruc- " tion." 'This relation suiting well enough with other passages and circum- " stances at this time, I have inserted to gratify the reader's curiosity." Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 12.

tereſt, was ready to betray the cauſe of God to the great enemy of piety and religion. Deſperate projects too, he aſſerted to be ſecretly formed, for the murder of the King; and he pretended much to dread leſt all his authority, and that of the commanding officers, would not be able to reſtrain theſe enthuſiſts from their bloody purpoſes [w]. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

INTELLIGENCE being daily brought to the King of menaces thrown out by the agitators; he began to think of retiring from Hampton-Court, and of putting himſelf in ſome place of ſafety. The guards were doubled upon him: The promiſcuous concourſe of people reſtrained: A more jealous care exerted in attending his perſon: All, under colour of protecting him from danger; but really with a view of making him uneaſy in his preſent ſituation. Theſe artifices ſoon operated the intended effect. Charles, who was naturally apt to be ſwayed by council, and who had not then acceſs to any good council, took ſuddenly a reſolution of withdrawing himſelf, tho' without any concerted, at leaſt, any rational ſcheme, for the future diſpoſal of his perſon. Attended only by Sir John Berkeley, Aſhburnham, and Leg, he privately left Hampton-Court; and his eſcape was not diſcovered, till near an hour after; when thoſe who entered his chamber, found on the table ſome letters directed to the parliament, to the general, and to the officer, who had attended him [x]. All night, he travelled thro' the foreſt, and arrived next day at Tichfield, a ſeat of the Earl of Southampton, where the Counteſs dowager reſided, a woman of great honour, to whom, the King knew, he might ſafely entruſt his perſon. Before he arrived at this place, he had gone to the ſea-coaſt; and expreſſed great anxiety, that a ſhip, which he ſeemed to look for, had not arrived; and from thence, Berkeley and Leg, who were not in the ſecret, conjectured, that his intention was to tranſport himſelf beyond ſea. 11th of Nov.

[w] Clarendon, vol. v p. 76. [x] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 871.

THE

CHAP. LIX.

1647.

King flies to the isle of Wight.

THE King could not hope to remain long concealed at Tichfield: What measure should be next embraced, was the question. In the neighbourhood lay the isle of Wight, of which Hammond was governor. This man was entirely dependent on Cromwel. At his recommendation he had married a daughter of the famous Hambden, who, during his life-time, had been an intimate friend of Cromwel, and whose memory was ever religiously respected by him. These circumstances were very unfavourable: Yet, because the governor was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the King's favourite chaplain, and had acquired a good character in the army, it was thought proper to have recourse to him, in the present exigence, when no other rational expedient could be thought of. Ashburnham and Berkeley were dispatched to the island. They had orders not to inform Hammond of the place, where the King lay concealed, till they had first obtained a promise of him not to deliver up his Majesty, tho' the parliament and army should require him; but to restore him to his liberty, if he could not defend him. This promise, it is evident, would have been a very slender security: Yet even without exacting it, Ashburnham, imprudently, if not treacherously, brought Hammond to Tichfield; and the King was obliged to put himself into his hands, and to attend him to Carisbroke-castle in the isle of Wight, where, tho' received with great demonstrations of respect and duty, he was in reality a prisoner.

LORD CLARENDON[y] is positive, that the King, when he fled from Hampton-Court, had no intention of going to this island: and indeed, all the circumstances of that historian's narrative, which we have here followed, strongly favour this opinion. But there remains a letter of Charles to the Earl of Leneric, secretary of Scotland; in which he plainly intimates, that that measure was

[y] P. 79, 80, &c.

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voluntarily embraced, and even insinuates, that, if he had thought proper, he might have been in Jersey or any other place of safety [z]. Perhaps, he still confided in the promises of the generals; and flattered himself, that, if he were removed from the fury of the agitators, by which his life was immediately threatened, they would execute what they had so often promised in his favour. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

WHATEVER may be the truth in this matter; for it is impossible fully to ascertain the truth; Charles was never guilty of a weaker step, nor one more agreeable to Cromwel and all his enemies. He was now lodged in a place, removed from his partizans, at the disposal of the army, whence it would be very difficult to deliver him, either by force or artifice. And tho' it was always in the power of Cromwel, whenever he pleased, to have sent him thither; yet such a measure would have been very invidious, if not accompanied with some danger. That the King should voluntarily throw himself into the snare, and at once forfeit his own reputation of prudence, and gratify his implacable persecutors, was to them an incident peculiarly fortunate, and proved in the issue very fatal to him.

[z] These are the words: "Laneric; I wonder to hear (if that be true) "that some of my friends say, that my going to Jersey would much more "have furthered my personal treaty, than my coming hither, for which, as "I see no colour of reason, so I had not been here, if I had thought that "fancy true, or had not been secured of a personal treaty; of which I nei- "ther do, nor I hope will repent: For I am daily more and more satisfied "with the governor, and find these islanders very good, peaceable, and quiet "people. This encouragement I have thought not unfit for you to receive, "hoping at least it may do good upon others, tho' needless to you." Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton, p. 326. See also Rushworth, part 4. vol. ii. p. 941. All the writers of that age, except Clarendon, represent the King's going to the isle of Wight as voluntary and intended. Perhaps the King thought it little for his credit, to be trepanned into this measure, and was more willing to take it on himself as intirely voluntary. Perhaps, he thought it would encourage his friends, if they thought him in a situation, which was not disagreeable to him.

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CROM-

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

CROMWEL, being now entirely maſter of the parliament, and free from all anxiety, with regard to the King's perſon, applied himſelf ſeriouſly to quell thoſe diſorders in the army which he himſelf had ſo artfully raiſed, and ſo ſucceſsfully employed, againſt both King and parliament. In order to engage the troops into a rebellion againſt their maſters, he had encouraged a very arrogant ſpirit among the inferior officers and private men; and the camp, in many reſpects, carried more the appearance of civil liberty than of military obedience. The troops themſelves were formed into a kind of republic; and the plans of imaginary republics for the ſettlement of the ſtate, were, every day, the topics of converſation among theſe armed legiſlators. Royalty it was agreed to aboliſh: Nobility muſt be ſet aſide: Even all ranks of men be levelled; and an univerſal equality of property, as well as power, be introduced among the citizens. The ſaints, they ſaid, were the ſalt of the earth: An entire parity had place among the elect: And, by the ſame rule, that the apoſtles were exalted from the moſt ignoble profeſſions, the meaneſt centinel, if enlightened by the ſpirit, was entitled to equal regard with the greateſt commander. In order to wean the ſoldiers from theſe licentious maxims, Cromwel had iſſued orders for diſcontinuing the meetings of the agitators; and he pretended to pay intire obedience to the parliament, whom, being now reduced fully to ſubjection, he propoſed to make, for the future, the inſtruments of his authority. But the *Levellers*, for ſo that party in the army was called, having experienced the ſweets of dominion, would not ſo eaſily be deprived of it. They ſecretly continued their meetings: They aſſerted, that their officers, as much as any part of the church or ſtate, ſtood in need of reformation: Several regiments joined in ſeditious remonſtrances and petitions [a]: Separate rende-

[a] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 845, 859.

vouſes

vouſes were concerted: And every thing tended to total anarchy and confuſion. But this diſtemper was ſoon cured by the rough, but dexterous hand of Cromwel. He choſe the occaſion of a review, that he might diſplay the greater boldneſs, and ſpread the terror the wider. He ſeized the ringleaders before their companions: Held in the field a council of war: Shot one mutineer inſtantly; and ſtruck ſuch dread into the reſt, that they preſently threw down the ſymbols of ſedition, which they had diſplayed, and thenceforth returned to their wonted diſcipline and obedience [b]. CHAP. LIX. 1647.

CROMWEL had great deference for the council of Ireton; a man, who, having grafted the ſoldier on the lawyer, the ſtateſman on the ſaint, had adopted ſuch principles as were fitted to introduce the ſevereſt tyranny, while they ſeemed to encourage the moſt unbounded licence in human ſociety. Fierce in his nature, tho' probably ſincere in his intentions; he propoſed by arbitrary power to eſtabliſh liberty, and, in proſecution of his imagined religious purpoſes, he thought himſelf diſpenſed from all the ordinary rules of morality, by which inferior mortals muſt allow themſelves to be governed. From his ſuggeſtion, Cromwel ſecretly called at Windſor a council of the chief officers, in order to deliberate concerning the ſettlement of the nation, and the future diſpoſal of the King's perſon [c]. In this conference, which commenced with devout prayers, poured forth by Cromwel himſelf and other inſpired perſons (for the officers of this army received inſpiration with their commiſſion), was firſt opened the daring and unheard of council, of bringing the King to juſtice, and of puniſhing, by a judicial ſentence, their ſovereign for his pretended tyranny and mal-adminiſtration. While Charles lived, even tho' reſtrained to the cloſeſt priſon, conſpiracies, they knew,

[b] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 875. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 87. [c] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 92.

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

and insurrections would never be wanting, in favour of a prince, who was so extremely revered and beloved by his own party, and whom the nation in general began to regard with great affection and compassion. To murder him privately was exposed to the imputation of injustice and cruelty, aggravated by the baseness of such a crime; and every odious epithet of *Traitor* and *Assassin* would, by the general voice of mankind, be undisputably ascribed to the actors of such a villany. Some unexpected procedure must be attempted, which would astonish the world by its novelty, would bear the semblance of justice, and would cover its barbarity by the audaciousness of the enterprize. Striking in with the fanatical notions of the intire equality of mankind, it would ensure the devoted obedience of the army, and serve as a general engagement against the royal family, whom, by their open and united deed, they would so heinously affront and injure [d].

THIS measure, therefore, being secretly resolved on, it was requisite, by degrees, to make the parliament adopt it, and to conduct them from violence to violence; till this last act of atrocious iniquity should seem, in a manner, wholly inevitable. The King, in order to remove those fears and jealousies, which were perpetually pleaded as reasons for every invasion of the constitution, had offered, by a message, sent from Carisbroke-castle, to resign, during his own life, the power of the militia and the nomination to all the great offices; provided, that, after his death, these prerogatives should again revert to the crown [e]: But the

[d] The following was a very favourite text among the enthusiasts of that age. "Let the high praises of God be in the mouths of his saints, and a "twofold sword in their hands, to execute vengeance upon the heathen and "punishment upon the people; to bind their kings with chains and their "nobles with fetters of iron; to execute upon them the judgments written: "This honour have all his saints." Psalm cxlix. ver. 6, 7, 8, 9. Hugh Peters, the mad chaplain of Cromwel, preached frequently upon this text.

[e] Rush. vol. viii. p. 880.

parlia-

parliament acted intirely as victors and enemies; and, in all their tranſactions with him, payed no longer any regard to equity or reaſon. At the inſtigation of the independents and army, they neglected this offer, and framed four propoſitions, which they ſent him as preliminaries; and, before they would deign to treat, they demanded his poſitive aſſent to all of them. By one, he was required to inveſt the parliament with the military power for twenty years, together with an authority to levy whatever money ſhould be neceſſary for exerciſing it: And even after the twenty years ſhould be elapſed, they reſerved a right of reaſſuming the ſame authority, whenever they ſhould declare the ſafety of the kingdom to require it. By the ſecond, he muſt recall all his proclamations and declarations againſt the parliament, and acknowlege that aſſembly to have taken arms for their juſt and neceſſary defence. By the third, he was to annull all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had paſſed the great ſeal, ſince it had been carried from London by Lord-Keeper Littleton. By the fourth, he gave the two houſes power to adjourn as they thought fit: A demand ſeemingly of no great conſequence; but contrived by the independents, that they might be able to remove the parliament to places, where it ſhould remain in perpetual ſubjection to the army [f].

CHAP. LIX. 1647.

THE King regarded the pretenſion as moſt unuſual and exorbitant, that he ſhould make ſuch conceſſions, while inſecure of any ſettlement; and ſhould blindly truſt his enemies for the conditions, which they were afterwards to grant him. He required, therefore, a perſonal treaty with the parliament, and deſired that all the terms, on both ſides, ſhould be adjuſted, before any conceſſions, on either ſide, ſhould be inſiſted on. The republican party in the houſe pretended to take fire at 1648.

[f] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 88.

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

this anſwer; and openly inveighed, in the moſt virulent terms, againſt the perſon and government of the King; whoſe name, hitherto, had commonly, in all debates, been mentioned with ſome degree of reverence. Ireton, ſeeming to ſpeak the ſenſe of the army, under the appellation of many thouſand godly men, who had ventured their lives in defence of the parliament, ſaid, That the King, by denying the four bills, had refuſed ſafety and protection to his people; that their obedience to him was but a reciprocal duty for his protection of them; and that, as he had failed on his part, they were freed from all obligations to allegiance, and muſt ſettle the nation, without conſulting any longer ſo miſguided a prince [g]. Cromwel, after giving an ample character of the valour, good affections, and godlineſs of the army, ſubjoined, That it was expected the parliament ſhould govern and defend the kingdom by their own power and reſolutions, and not accuſtom the people any longer to expect ſafety and government from an obſtinate man, whoſe heart God had hardened; that thoſe, who, at the expence of their blood, had hitherto defended the parliament from ſo many dangers, would ſtill continue, with fidelity and courage to protect them againſt all oppoſition, in this vigorous meaſure. "Teach them not," added he, "by your neglecting your own ſafety and "that of the kingdom (in which theirs too is involved) "to imagine themſelves betrayed, and their intereſt "abandoned to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable "enemy, whom, for your ſake, they have dared to "provoke. Beware, (*and at theſe words he laid his hand "on his ſword*) beware, leſt deſpair cauſe them to ſeek "ſafety by ſome other means, than by adhering to you, "who know not how to conſult your own ſafety [h]."

15th of Jan. Such arguments prevailed; though ninety-one members had ſtill the courage to oppoſe. It was voted, that no more

[g] Cl. Walker, p. 70. [h] Ibid. p. 70.

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ſages be received from him; and that it be treaſon for any one, without leave of the two houſes, to have any intercourſe with him. The Lords concurred in the ſame ordinance [i].

By this vote of non-addreſſes, for ſo it was called, the King was, in reality, dethroned, and the whole conſtitution formally overthrown. So violent a meaſure was ſupported by a declaration no leſs violent. The blackeſt calumnies were there thrown upon the King; ſuch as, even in their famous remonſtrance, the commons thought proper to omit, as incredible and extravagant: The poiſoning his father, the betraying Rochelle, the contriving the Iriſh maſſacre [k]. By blaſting his fame, had that injury been in their power, they formed a very proper prelude to the murthering of his perſon.

No ſooner had the King refuſed his aſſent to the four bills, than Hammond, by orders from the army, removed all his ſervants, cut off all his correſpondence with his friends, and ſhut him up in cloſe confinement. The King afterwards ſhowed to Sir Philip Warwick, a decrepid old man, who, he ſaid, was employed to kindle his fire, and was the beſt company he enjoyed, during ſeveral months that this rigorous confinement laſted [l]. No amuſement was allowed him, or ſociety, which might relieve his anxious thoughts: To be ſpeedily poiſoned or aſſaſſinated was the only proſpect, which he had, every moment, before his eyes: For he entertained no apprehenſion of a judicial ſentence and execution, an event, of which no hiſtory hitherto furniſhed an example. Meanwhile the parliament were very induſtrious in publiſhing, from time to time, the intelligence, which they received from Hammond; how chearful the King was, how pleaſed with every one who approached him, how

[i] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 965. 967. Clarendon, vol. v. p. 93.
[k] Ibid. vol. viii. p. 998.
[l] Warwick, 329.

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CHAP. LIX. 1648.

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Second civil war.

THE parliament and army, meanwhile, enjoyed not, in tranquillity, that power, which they had obtained with so much violence and injustice. Combinations and conspiracies, they were sensible, were every where forming around them; and Scotland, whence the King's cause had received the first fatal blow, seemed now to promise it support and assistance.

BEFORE the delivery of the King's person at Newcastle, and much more, since that event, the subjects of discontent had been daily multiplying between the two kingdoms. The independents, who began to prevail, took all occasions of mortifying the Scots, whom the presbyterians looked on with the greatest affection and veneration. When the Scots commissioners, who, joined to a committee of English lords and commons, had managed the war, were ready to depart, it was proposed in parliament to give them thanks for their civilities and good offices. The independents prevailed, that the words, *Good offices*, should be struck out; and thus the

[m] Rush. vol. viii. p. 989.

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whole brotherly friendſhip and intimate alliance with the Scots, reſolved itſelf into an acknowlegement of their being well-bred gentlemen. CHAP. LIX. 1648.

THE advance of the army to London, the ſubjection of the parliament, the ſeizing of the King at Holmby, his confinement in Cariſbroke caſtle, were ſo many blows, ſenſibly felt by that nation; as threatening the final overthrow of preſbytery, to which they were ſo paſſionately devoted. The covenant was profanely called, in the houſe of commons, an almanack out of date [n]; and that impiety, though complained of, had paſſed uncenſured. Inſtead of being able to determine and eſtabliſh orthodoxy by the ſword and by penal ſtatutes, they ſaw the ſectarian army, who were abſolute maſters, claim an unbounded liberty of conſcience, which the preſbyterians regarded with the utmoſt horror. All the violences, put on the King, they loudly blamed, as repugnant to the covenant, by which they ſtood engaged to defend his royal perſon. And thoſe very actions, of which they themſelves had been guilty, they denominated treaſon and rebellion, when executed by an oppoſite party.

THE Earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Laneric, who were ſent to London, proteſted againſt the four propoſitions; as containing too great a diminution of the King's civil power, and providing no ſecurity for religion. They complained, that, notwithſtanding this proteſtation, the propoſitions were ſtill inſiſted on; contrary to the ſolemn league, and to the treaty between the two nations. And when they accompanied the Engliſh commiſſioners to the iſle of Wight, they ſecretly formed a treaty with the King, for arming Scotland in his favour [o].

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CHAP. LIX. 1648.

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CHAP. LIX.

1648.

Invaſion from Scotland.

THREE parties, at that time, prevailed in Scotland. The *Royaliſts*, who inſiſted upon the reſtoration of the King's authority, without any regard to religious ſects or tenets. Of theſe Montroſe, though abſent, was regarded as the head. The *Rigid preſbyterians*, who hated the King, even more than they abhorred toleration; and who determined to give him no aſſiſtance, till he ſhould ſign the covenant: Theſe were governed by Argyle. The *Moderate preſbyterians*, who endeavoured to reconcile the intereſts of religion and of the crown, and hoped, by ſupporting the preſbyterian party in England, to ſuppreſs the ſectarian army, and to re-inſtate the parliament, as well as King, in their juſt freedom and authority: The two brothers, Hamilton and Laneric, were leaders of this party.

WHEN Pendennis caſtle was ſurrendered to the parliamentary army, Hamilton, who then obtained his liberty, returned into Scotland; and being generouſly determined to remember antient favours, more than recent injuries, he immediately embraced, with zeal and ſucceſs, the protection of the royal cauſe. He obtained a vote from the parliament to arm 40,000 men in ſupport of the King's authority, and to call over a conſiderable body under Monro, who commanded the Scots forces in Ulſter. And though he openly proteſted, that the covenant was the foundation of all his meaſures, he ſecretly formed an alliance with the Engliſh royaliſts, Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Muſgrave, who ſurprized Berwic and Carliſle, and levied conſiderable forces in the north of England.

THE general aſſembly, who ſat at the ſame time, and were guided by Argyle, dreaded the conſequence of theſe meaſures, and foreſaw, that the oppoſite party, if ſucceſsful, would effect the reſtoration of monarchy, without the eſtabliſhment of preſbytery in England. To join the King before he had ſubſcribed the covenant, was,

1648.

was, in their eyes, to restore him to his honour before Christ was restored to his [p]; and they thundered out anathemas against every one, who payed obedience to the parliament. Two supreme independent judicatories were erected in the kingdom; one threatening the people with damnation and eternal torments, the other with imprisonment, banishment, and military execution. The people were distracted in their choice; and the armament of Hamilton's party, though seconded by all the civil power, went on but slowly. The royalists he would not, as yet, allow to join him, lest he might give offence to the ecclesiastical party; though he secretly promised them trust and preferment, so soon as his army should advance into England.

While the Scots were making preparations for the invasion of England, every part of that kingdom was agitated with tumults, insurrections, conspiracies, discontents. 'Tis seldom, that the people gain any thing by revolutions in government; because the new settlement, jealous and insecure, must commonly be supported with more expence and severity than the old: But on no occasion was the truth of this maxim more sensibly felt, than in the present situation of England. Complaints against the oppression of ship-money, against the tyranny of the star-chamber, had rouzed the people to arms: And having gained a compleat victory over the crown, they found themselves loaded with a multiplicity of taxes, formerly unknown; and scarce an appearance of law and liberty remained in the administration. The presbyterians, who had chiefly supported the war, were enraged to find the prize, just when it seemed within their reach, snatched by violence from them. The royalists, disappointed in their expectations, by the cruel treatment which the King received from the army, were strongly animated to restore him to liberty, and to recover

[p] Whitlocke, p. 305.

the

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

the advantages which they had unfortunately loſt. All orders of men were inflamed with indignation at ſeeing the military prevail over the civil power, and King and parliament at once reduced to ſubjection by a mercenary army. Many perſons of family and diſtinction, from the beginning of the war, had adhered to the parliament: But all thoſe were, by the new party, deprived of authority; and every office was entruſted to the moſt ignoble part of the nation. A baſe populace exalted above their ſuperiors: Hypocrites exerciſing iniquity under the vizor of religion: Theſe two circumſtances promiſed not much liberty or lenity to the people; and theſe were now found united, in the ſame uſurped and illegal adminiſtration.

THOUGH the whole nation ſeemed to combine in their hatred of military tyranny, the ends, which the ſeveral parties propoſed, were ſo different, that little concert was obſerved in their inſurrections. Langhorne, Poyer, and Powel, preſbyterian officers, who commanded bodies of troops in Wales, were the firſt who declared themſelves, and drew together a conſiderable army in thoſe parts, which were extremely devoted to the royal cauſe. An inſurrection was raiſed in Kent by young Hales and the Earl of Norwich. Lord Capel, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, excited commotions in Eſſex. The Earl of Holland, who had ſeveral times changed party, ſince the commencement of the civil wars, endeavoured to aſſemble forces in Surrey. Pomfret caſtle in Yorkſhire was ſurprized by Morrice. Langdale and Muſgrave were in arms, and maſters of Berwic and Carliſle in the north.

WHAT ſeemed the moſt dangerous circumſtance, the general ſpirit of diſcontent had ſeized the fleet. Seventeen ſhips, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the King; and putting Rainſborow, their admiral, aſhore,

ashore, sailed over to Holland, where the Prince of Wales took the command of them [q]. CHAP. LIX. 1648.

The English royalists exclaimed loudly against Hamilton's delays, which they attributed to a refined policy in the Scots; as if their intentions were, that all the King's party should first be suppressed, and the victory remain intire to the presbyterians. Hamilton, with better reason, complained of the precipitate humour of the English royalists, who, by their ill-timed insurrections, forced him to march his army, before his levies were compleated, or his preparations in any forwardness.

No commotions, beyond a tumult of the apprentices, which was soon suppressed, were raised in London: The terror of the army kept the citizens in subjection. The parliament was so over-awed, that they declared the Scots to be enemies, and all who joined them, traitors. Ninety members, however, of the lower house had the courage to dissent from this vote.

Cromwel and the military council prepared themselves with vigour and conduct for defence. The establishment of the army was, at this time, 26,000 men; but by inlisting supernumeraries, the regiments were greatly augmented, and commonly consisted of more than double their stated complement [r]. Colonel Horton first attacked the revolted troops in Wales, and gave them a considerable defeat. The remnants of the vanquished threw themselves into Pembroke, and were there closely besieged, and soon after taken, by Cromwel. Lambert was opposed to Langdale and Musgrave in the north, and gained advantages over them. Sir Michael Livesey defeated the Earl of Holland at Kingston, and pursuing his victory, took him prisoner at St. Neots. Fairfax, having routed the Kentish royalists at Maidstone, followed the broken army: And when they join-

[q] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 137. [r] Whitlocke, p. 284.

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CHAP. LIX.

1648.

ed the Eſſex inſurgents, and threw themſelves into Colcheſter; he laid ſiege to that place, which defended itſelf to the laſt extremity. A new fleet was manned, and ſent out under the command of Warwic, to oppoſe the revolted ſhips, of which the Prince had taken the command.

WHILE the forces were employed in all quarters, the parliament regained its liberty, and began to act with its wonted courage and ſpirit. The members, who had withdrawn from the terror of the army, returned; and infuſing boldneſs into their companions, reſtored to the preſbyterian party the aſcendant, which it had formerly loſt. The eleven impeached members were recalled, and the vote, by which they were expelled, was reverſed. The vote too of non-addreſſes was repealed; and commiſſioners, five peers and ten commoners, were ſent to Newport in the iſle of Wight, in order to treat with the King [s]. He was allowed to ſummon ſeveral of his friends, and old counſellors, that he might have their advice in this important tranſaction [t]. The theologians on both ſides, armed with their ſyllogiſms and citations, attended as auxiliaries [u]. By them, the flame had firſt been raiſed; and their appearance was but a bad prognoſtic of its extinction. Any other inſtruments ſeemed better adapted for a treaty of pacification.

18th of Sept. Treaty of Newport.

WHEN the King preſented himſelf to this company, a great and ſenſible alteration was remarked in his aſpect from what it appeared the year before, when he reſided at Hampton Court. The moment his ſervants had been removed, he had laid aſide all care of his perſon, and had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and to hang diſhevelled and neglected. His hair was become almoſt intirely gray; either from the decline of years, or from that load of ſorrows, under which he laboured, and

[s] Clarendon, vol. v. p. 180. Sir Edward Walker's perfect Copies, p. 6.
[t] Ibid. p. 8. [u] Ibid. p. 8. 38.

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

which, though borne with constancy, preyed inwardly on his sensible and tender mind. His friends beheld with compassion, and perhaps even his enemies, that *Grey and discrowned head*; as he himself terms it, in a copy of verses, which the truth of the sentiment, rather than any elegance of expression, renders very pathetic [w]. Having in vain endeavoured by courage to defend his throne from his armed adversaries, it now behoved him, by reason and persuasion, to save some fragments of it from these peaceful, and no less implacable negotiators.

The vigour of the King's mind, notwithstanding the seeming decline of his body, here appeared unbroken and undecayed. The parliamentary commissioners would allow none of his council to be present, and refused to enter into reasoning with any but himself. He alone, during the transactions of two months, was obliged to sustain the argument against fifteen men of the greatest parts and capacity in both houses; and no advantage was ever obtained over him [x]. This was the scene, above all others, in which he was qualified to excel. A quick conception, a cultivated understanding, a chaste elocution, a dignified manner; by these accomplishments he triumphed in all discussions of cool and temperate reasoning. *The King is much changed*, said the Earl of Salisbury to Sir Philip Warwick: *He is extremely improved of late.* *No*, replied Sir Philip; *he was always so: But you are now at last sensible of it* [y]. Sir Henry Vane, discoursing with his fellow-commissioners, drew an argument from the King's uncommon abilities, why the terms of pacification must be rendered more strict and rigid [z]. But Charles's capacity shone not equally in action as in reasoning.

The first point insisted on by the parliamentary commissioners, was the King's recalling all his procla-

[w] Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton.
[x] Herbert's Memoirs, p. 72.
[y] Warwick, p. 324.
[z] Clarendon, Sir Edward Walker, p. 319.

mations

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

mations and declarations againſt the parliament, and the acknowledging, that they had taken arms in their own defence. He frankly offered the former conceſſion; but long ſcrupled the latter. The falſhood, as well as indignity of that acknowledgment, begot in his breaſt an extreme reluctance againſt it. The King had, no doubt, in ſome particulars of moment, invaded, from a ſeeming neceſſity, the privileges of his people: But having renounced all claim to theſe uſurped powers, having confeſſed his errors, and having repaired every breach in the conſtitution, and even erected new ramparts, in order to ſecure it; he could no longer, at the commencement of the war, be repreſented as the aggreſſor. However it might be pretended, that the former diſplay of his arbitrary inclinations, or rather his monarchical principles, rendered an offenſive or preventive war in the parliament prudent and reaſonable; it could never, in any propriety of ſpeech, make it be denominated a defenſive one. But the parliament, ſenſible, that the letter of the law condemned them as rebels and traitors; deemed this point abſolutely neceſſary for their future ſecurity: And the King, finding, that peace could be obtained on no other terms, at laſt yielded to it. He only entered a proteſt, which was admitted; that no conceſſion, made by him, ſhould be valid, unleſs the whole treaty of pacification was concluded [a].

He agreed, that the parliament ſhould retain, during the term of twenty years, the power of the militia and army, and of levying what money they pleaſed for their ſupport. He even yielded to them the right of reſuming, at any time afterwards, this authority, whenever they ſhould declare ſuch a reſumption requiſite for public ſafety. In effect, the important power of the ſword was for ever raviſhed from him and his ſucceſſors [b].

[a] Walker, p. 11, 12, 24. [b] Ibid. p. 51.

He

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

He agreed, that all the great offices, during twenty years, should be filled by both houses of parliament [c]. He relinquished to them the entire government of Ireland, and the conduct of the war there [d]. He renounced the power of the wards, and accepted of 100,000 pounds a year in lieu of it [e]. He acknowledged the validity of their great seal, and gave up his own [f]. He abandoned the power of creating peers without consent of parliament. And he agreed, that all the debts, contracted in order to support the war against him, should be paid by the people.

So great were the alterations, made on the English constitution by this treaty, that the King said, not without reason, that he had been more an enemy to his people by these concessions, could he have prevented them, than by any other action of his life.

Of all the demands of the parliament, Charles refused only two. Though he relinquished almost every power of the crown, he would neither give up his friends to punishment, nor desert what he esteemed his religious duty. The severe repentance, which he had undergone, for abandoning Strafford, had, no doubt, confirmed him in the resolution never again to be guilty of a like error. His long solitude and severe afflictions had contributed extremely to rivet him the more in those religious principles, which had ever a considerable influence over him. His desire, however, of finishing an accommodation induced him to go as far in both these particulars, as he thought any way consistent with his duty.

The estates of the royalists being, at that time, almost intirely under sequestration, Charles, who could give them no protection, consented, that they should

[c] Walker, p. 78. [d] Ibid. p. 45. [e] Ibid. p. 69. 77. [f] Ibid. p. 56. 68.

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

pay such compositions, as they and the parliament could agree on; and only begged, that they might be made as moderate as possible. He had not the disposal of offices; and it seemed but a small sacrifice to consent, that a certain number of his friends should be rendered incapable of public employments [g]. But when the parliament demanded a bill of attainder and banishment against seven persons, the Marquess of Newcastle, Lord Digby, Lord Biron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Granville, Sir Francis Doddington, and judge Jenkins, the King utterly refused compliance: Their banishment for a limited time he was willing to agree to [h].

RELIGION was the fatal point about which the differences had first arisen; and of all others, was the least susceptible of composition or moderation between the contending parties. The parliament insisted on the establishment of presbytery, the sale of the chapter lands, the abolition of all forms of prayer, and strict laws against the catholics. The King offered to retrench every thing, which he did not esteem of apostolical institution: He was willing to abolish archbishops, deans, prebends, canons: He offered, that the chapter lands should be let at low leases during ninety-nine years; He consented, that the present church government should continue during three years [i]: After that time, he required not, that any thing should be restored to bishops but the power of ordination, and even that power to be exercised by advice of the presbyters [k]. If the parliament, upon the expiration of that period, was not willing, all other branches of episcopal jurisdiction were abolished, and a new form of church government must, by common consent, be established. The book of com-

g Walker, p. 61. h Ibid. p. 91. 93. i Ibid. p. 35. 49. k Ibid. p. 65.

mon prayer he was willing to renounce, but required the liberty of using some other liturgy in his own chapel [l]. A demand, which, though seemingly very reasonable, was positively refused by the parliament. CHAP. LIX. 1648.

In the dispute on these articles, one is not surprised, that two of the parliamentary theologians should tell the King, *That if he did not consent to the utter abolition of episcopacy, he would be damned.* But it is not without some indignation, that we read the following vote of the lords and commons. "The houses, out of their detestation to that abominable idolatry used in the mass, do "declare, that they cannot admit of, or consent unto any "such indulgence in any law, as is desired by his Ma"jesty for exempting the Queen and her family from "the penalties to be enacted against the exercise of the "mass [m]." The treaty of marriage, the regard to the Queen's sex and high station, even common humanity; all considerations were undervalued, in comparison of their bigotted prejudices [n].

It

[l] Walker, p. 75, 82. Rush. vol. viii. p. 1323. [m] Walker, p. 71.

[n] The King composed a letter to the Prince, in which he related the whole course of this transaction, and accompanied his narrative with several wise, as well as pathetical reflections and advices. The words with which he concluded the letter, are remarkable. "By what hath been said, you see how "long I have laboured in the search of peace: Do not you be disheartened "to tread in the same steps. Use all worthy means to restore yourself to your "rights, but prefer the way of peace: Show the greatness of your mind, "rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning, than by punishing. If you "saw how unmanly and unchristian the implacable disposition is in our ill"wishers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure me not for having parted "with so much of our right: The price was great; but the commodity "was, security to us, peace to my people. And I am confident, that an"other parliament would remember, how useful a king's power is to a peo"ple's liberty; of how much power I divested myself, that I and they "might meet once again in a parliamentary way, in order to agree the "bounds of prince and people. Give belief to my experience, never to af"fect more greatness or prerogative, than what is really and intrinsically for "the good of the subjects, not the satisfaction of favourites. If you thus

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

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"uſe it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince "to any, whom you incline to be extraordinarily gracious to. You may per- "ceive, that all men entruſt their treaſure, where it returns them intereſt; "and if a prince, like the ſea, receive and repay all the freſh ſtreams, which "the rivers entruſt with him, they will not grudge, but pride themſelves, to "make him up an ocean. Theſe conſiderations, may make you as great a "prince as your father is a low one; and your ſtate may be ſo much the more "eſtabliſhed, as mine hath been ſhaken. For our ſubjects have learned, I "dare ſay, that victories over their princes, are but triumphs over themſelves, "and ſo, will more unwillingly hearken to changes hereafter. The Engliſh "nation are a ſober people, however, at preſent, infatuated. I know not "but this may be the laſt time, I may ſpeak to you or the world publickly. "I am ſenſible into what hands I am fallen; and yet, I bleſs God, I have "thoſe inward refreſhments, which the malice of my enemies cannot perturb. "I have learned to buſy myſelf, by retiring into myſelf; and therefore can "the better digeſt whatever befals me; not doubting, but God's providence "will reſtrain our enemies power, and turn their fierceneſs into his praiſe. To "conclude, if God give you ſucceſs, uſe it humbly, and be ever far from re- "venge. If he reſtore you to your right on hard conditions, whatever you "promiſe, keep. Theſe men, who have violated laws, which they were "bound to preſerve, will find their triumphs full of trouble, But do not "you think any thing in the world worth attaining, by foul and unjuſt "means."

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Civil war and invaſion repreſſed.

CROMWEL feared not to oppoſe 8000 men, to the numerous armies of 20,000, commanded by Hamilton and Langdale. He attacked the latter by ſurprize, near Preſton in Lancaſhire [o]; and, tho' the royaliſts made a ſtout reſiſtance, yet, not being ſuccoured in time by their confederates, they were almoſt entirely cut in pieces. Hamilton was next attacked, put to rout, and purſued to Utoxeter, where he ſurrendered himſelf priſoner. Cromwel followed his advantage; and marching into Scotland with a conſiderable body, joined Argyle, who was alſo in arms; and having ſuppreſſed Laneric, Monro, and other moderate preſbyterians, he placed the power entirely in the hands of the violent party. The eccleſiaſtical authority, exalted above the civil, exerciſed the ſevereſt vengeance on all thoſe who had any ſhare in Hamilton's engagement; nor could any of that party recover truſt, or even live in ſafety, but by doing ſolemn and public penance for taking arms, by authority of parliament, in defence of their lawful ſovereign.

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CHAP. LIX. 1648.

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* 17th of Auguſt.

CHAP. LIX. 1648.

THE chancellor, Loudon, who had, at firſt, countenanced Hamilton's enterprize, being terrified with the menaces of the clergy, had, ſometime before, gone over to the other party; and he now, openly in the church, tho' inveſted with the higheſt civil character in the kingdom, did penance for his obedience to the parliament, which he termed a carnal ſelf-ſeeking. He accompanied his penance with ſo many tears, and ſuch pathetical addreſſeſs to the people for their prayers, in this his uttermoſt ſorrow and diſtreſs, that an univerſal weeping and lamentation took place among the deluded audience [p].

THE loan of great ſums of money, often to the ruin of families, was exacted of all ſuch as lay under any ſuſpicion of favouring the King's party, tho' their conduct had been ever ſo inoffenſive. This was a device, fallen upon by the ruling party, in order, as they ſaid, to reach *Heart-Malignant* [q]. Never in this Iſland, was known a more ſevere and arbitrary government, than was generally exerciſed, by the patrons of liberty in both kingdoms.

THE ſiege of Colcheſter terminated in a manner no leſs unfortunate than Hamilton's engagement, for the royal cauſe. After ſuffering the utmoſt extremity of famine, after feeding on the vileſt aliments; the garriſon deſired, at laſt, to capitulate. Fairfax required them to ſurrender at mercy; and he gave ſuch an explanation of theſe terms, as to reſerve to himſelf power, if he pleaſed, to put them all inſtantly to the ſword. The officers endeavoured, tho' in vain, to perſuade the ſoldiers, by making a furious aſſault, to break thro', or at leaſt, to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. They were obliged [r] to accept of the conditions offered; and Fairfax, inſtigated by Ireton, to whom Cromwel, in his abſence, had conſigned over the government of the paſſive general, ſeized Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Liſle, and re-

[p] Whitlocke, p. 360. [q] Guthrey. [r] 18th of Auguſt.

CHAP. LIX.

1648.

ſolved to make them inſtant ſacrifices to military juſtice. This unuſual piece of ſeverity was loudly exclaimed againſt by all the priſoners. Lord Capel, fearleſs of danger, reproached Ireton with it; and challenged him, as they were all engaged in the ſame honourable cauſe, to exerciſe the ſame impartial vengeance on all of them. Lucas was firſt ſhot, and he gave, himſelf, orders to fire, with the ſame alacrity, as if he had commanded a platoon of his own ſoldiers. Liſle inſtantly ran and kiſſed the dead body, and then chearfully preſented himſelf to a like fate. Thinking that the ſoldiers, deſtined for his execution, ſtood at too great a diſtance, he called to them to come nearer: One of them replied, *I'll warrant you, Sir, we'll hit you:* He anſwered ſmiling, *Friends, I have been nearer you when you have miſſed me.* Thus periſhed this generous ſpirit, not leſs beloved for his modeſty and humanity, than eſteemed for his courage and military conduct.

Soon after, a gentleman, appearing in the King's preſence, clothed in mourning for Sir Charles Lucas; that humane Prince, ſuddenly recollecting the hard fate of his friends, paid them a tribute, which none of his own unparalleled misfortunes ever extorted from him: He diſſolved into a flood of tears [s].

By theſe multiplied ſucceſſes of the army, they had ſubdued all their enemies; and none remained but the helpleſs King and parliament, to oppoſe their violent meaſures. From Cromwel's ſuggeſtion, a remonſtrance was drawn by the general council of officers, and ſent to the parliament. They there complain of the treaty with the King; demand his puniſhment for the blood ſpilt during the war; require a diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and a more equal repreſentative for the future; and aſſert, that, tho' ſervants, they are intitled to

[s] Whitlocke.

CHAP. LIX.

1648.

represent these important points to their masters, who are themselves no better than servants and trustees of the people. At the same time, they advance with the army to Windsor, and send Colonel Eure to seize the King's person at Newport, and convey him to Hurst castle in the neighbourhood, where he was reduced to very strict confinement.

The King seized again by the army.

This measure being foreseen some time before, the King was exhorted to make his escape, which was conceived to be very easy: But having given his word to the parliament not to attempt the recovery of his liberty during the treaty, and three weeks afterwards; he would not, by any persuasion, be induced to hazard the reproach of violating his promise. In vain was it urged, that a promise, given to the parliament, could no longer be binding; since they could no longer afford him protection from violence, threatened him by other persons, to whom he was bound by no tye or engagement. The King would indulge no refinements of casuistry, however plausible, in such delicate subjects; and was resolved, that whatever depredations fortune should commit upon him, she never should bereave him of his honour [t].

The parliament lost not courage, notwithstanding the danger, with which they were so nearly menaced. Tho' without any plan for resisting military usurpations, they generously resolved to withstand them to the utmost; and rather to bring on a violent and visible subversion of government, than lend their authority to those illegal and sanguinary measures, which were projected. They set aside the remonstrance of the army, without deigning to answer it; they voted the seizing the King's person, to be without their consent, and sent a message to the general, to know by what authority that enterprize had

[t] Col. Cooke's Memoirs, p. 174. Rush. vol. viii. p. 1347.

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been executed; and they issued orders, that the army should advance no nearer London. CHAP. LIX. 1648.

Hollis, the present leader of the presbyterians, was a man of the most unconquerable intrepidity; and many others of that party seconded his magnanimous spirit. It was proposed by them, that the generals and principal officers, should, for their disobedience and usurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the parliament.

But the parliament were dealing with men, who would not be frightened by words, nor retarded by any scrupulous delicacy. The generals, under the name of Fairfax, (for he still allowed them to employ his name) marched the army to London, and placing guards in Whitehall, the Meuse, St. James's, Durham-house, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, surrounded the parliament with their hostile armaments.

The parliament, destitute of all hopes of prevailing, retained, however, courage to resist. They attempted, in the face of the army, to close their treaty with the King; and, tho' they had formerly voted his concessions with regard to the church and delinquents to be unsatisfactory, they now took into consideration the final resolution with regard to the whole. After a violent debate of three days, it was carried, by a majority of 129 against 83, in the house of commons, that the King's concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom. December 6. The house purged.

Next day, when the commons were to meet, Colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had blockaded the house, at the head of two regiments; and, directed by the Lord Grey of Groby, he seized in the passage, forty-one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room, which passed by the denomination of *Hell*; whence they were afterwards carried to several inns. Above 160 members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and most determined

CHAP. LIX.

1648.

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CHAP. LIX.

1648.

termined of the independents; and these exceeded not the number of fifty or sixty. This atrocious invasion of the parliament, commonly passed under the name of *Colonel Pride's purge*; so much disposed were the nation to make merry with the dethroning of those members, who had violently arrogated the whole authority of government, and deprived the King of his legal prerogatives.

THE subsequent acts of the parliament, if this diminutive assembly deserves that honourable name, retain not the least appearance of law, equity, or freedom. They instantly reversed the former vote, and declared the King's concessions unsatisfactory. They determined, that no members, absent at this last vote, should be received, till they subscribed it, as agreeable to their judgment. They renewed their former vote of non-addresses. And they committed to prison, Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, the generals, Massey, Brown, and Copley, and other leaders of the presbyterians. These men, by their credit and authority, which was then very high, had, at the commencement of the war, supported the parliament; and thereby prepared the way for the greatness of the present leaders, who, at that time, were of very small account in the nation.

THE secluded members having published a paper, containing a narrative of the violence, which had been exercised upon them, and a protestation, that all acts were void, which, from that time, had been transacted in the house of commons; the remaining members encountered it with a declaration, in which they pronounced it false, scandalous, seditious, and tending to the destruction of the visible and fundamental government of the kingdom.

THESE sudden and violent revolutions held the whole nation in terror and astonishment. Every man dreaded to be trampled under foot, in the contention between those mighty powers, which disputed for the sovereignty

of

of the ſtate. Many began to withdraw their effects be- CHAP. LIX.
yond ſea: Foreigners ſcrupled to give any credit to a people, ſo torn by domeſtic factions, and oppreſſed by military uſurpation: Even the internal commerce of the kingdom began to ſtagnate: And in order to remedy theſe growing evils, the generals, in the army's name, publiſhed a declaration, in which they expreſſed their reſolution of ſupporting law and juſtice [u]. 1648.

THE more to quiet the minds of men, the council of officers took into conſideration, a ſcheme called *The agreement of the people*; being the plan of a republic, to be ſubſtituted in the place of that government which they had ſo violently pulled in pieces. Many parts of this ſcheme, for correcting the inequalities of the repreſentative, are very plauſible; had the nation been willing to receive it, or had the army intended to impoſe it. Other parts are too perfect for human nature, and ſavour ſtrongly of that fanatical ſpirit ſo prevalent throughout the kingdom.

THE height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained; the public trial and execution of their ſovereign. To this period was every meaſure precipitated by the zealous independents. The parliamentary leaders of that party had intended, that the army ſhould, themſelves, execute that daring enterprize; and they deemed ſo irregular and lawleſs a deed, beſt fitted to ſuch irregular and lawleſs inſtruments [w]. But the generals were too wiſe, to load themſelves ſingly with the infamy, which, they knew, muſt attend an action, ſo ſhocking to the general ſentiments of mankind. The parliament, they were reſolved, ſhould ſhare with them the reproach of a meaſure, which was thought requiſite for the advancement of their common ends of ſafety and ambition. In the houſe of commons, therefore, a committee

[u] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 1364. [w] Whitlocke.

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CHAP. LIX.

1648. was appointed to bring in a charge againſt the King. On their report a vote paſſed, declaring it treaſon in a king, to levy war againſt his parliament, and appointing a HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE to try his Majeſty for this new invented treaſon. This vote was ſent up to the houſe of peers.

THE houſe of peers, during the civil wars, had, all along, been of ſmall account; but it had lately, ſince the King's fall, become totally contemptible; and very few members would ſubmit to the mortification of attending it. It happened, that day, to be fuller than uſual, and they were aſſembled to the number of ſixteen. Without one diſſenting voice, and almoſt without deliberation, they inſtantly rejected the vote of the lower houſe, and adjourned themſelves for ten days; hoping, that this delay would be able to retard the furious career of the commons.

1649. THE commons were not to be ſtopped by ſo ſmall an obſtacle. Having firſt eſtabliſhed a principle, which is noble in itſelf, and ſeems ſpecious, but is belied by all hiſtory and experience, *That the people are the origin of all juſt power*; they likewiſe declared, that the commons of England, aſſembled in parliament, being choſen by the people, and repreſenting them, have the ſupreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared law by the commons, hath the force of law, without the conſent of king or houſe of peers. The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England, ſo they called him, was again read and unanimouſly aſſented to.

January 4.

IN proportion to the enormity of the violences and uſurpations, were augmented the pretences of ſanctity, among thoſe regicides. "Should any one have volun-"tarily propoſed," ſaid Cromwel in the houſe, "to "bring

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

"bring the King to punishment, I should have regarded "him as the greatest traytor; but, since providence "and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God "for a blessing on your councils; tho' I am not pre- "pared to give you any advice on this important occa- "sion. Even I myself," subjoined he, "when I was "lately offering up petitions for his Majesty's restora- "tion, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, "and considered this supernatural movement as the an- "swer, which Heaven, having rejected the King, had "sent to my supplications".

A woman of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetical visions, desired admittance into the council of war, and communicated to them a revelation, which assured them, that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by a heavenly sanction. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions [x].

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast of the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the King to London. At Windsor, Hamilton, who was there detained a prisoner, was admitted into the King's presence; and falling on his knees, passionately exclaimed, *My dear master! I have indeed been so to you*, replied Charles, embracing him. No farther intercourse was allowed between them. The King was instantly hurried away. Hamilton long followed him with his eyes, all suffused in tears, and prognosticated, that, in this short salutation, he had given the last adieu to his sovereign and his friend.

Charles himself was assured, that the period of his life was now approaching; but notwithstanding all the preparations, which were making, and the intelligence, which he received, he could not, even yet, believe, that

[x] Whitlocke, p. 360.

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CHAP. LIX. 1648.

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CHAP. LIX. 1649.

his enemies really meant to conclude their violences by a public trial and execution. A private aſſaſſination he every moment looked for; and tho' Harriſon aſſured him, that his apprehenſions were intirely groundleſs, it was by that cataſtrophe, ſo frequent with dethroned princes, that he expected to terminate his life. In appearance, as well as reality, the King was now dethroned. All the exterior ſymbols of ſovereignty were withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to ſerve him without ceremony. At firſt, he was ſhocked with inſtances of rudeneſs and familiarity, to which he had been ſo little accuſtomed. *Nothing ſo contemptible as a deſpiſed prince!* was the reflection, which they ſuggeſted to him. But he ſoon reconciled his mind to this, as he had done to his other calamities.

ALL the circumſtances of the trial were now adjuſted; and the high court of juſtice fully conſtituted. It conſiſted of 133 perſons, as named by the commons; but there never met above 70: So difficult was it found, notwithſtanding the blindneſs of prejudice, and the allurements of intereſt, to engage men of any name or character in that criminal meaſure. Cromwel, Ireton, Harriſon, and the chief officers of the army, moſt of them of very mean birth, were members, together with ſome of the lower houſe and ſome citizens of London. The twelve judges were at firſt appointed in the number: But as they had affirmed, that it was contrary to all the ideas of Engliſh law to try the King for treaſon, by whoſe authority all accuſations for treaſon muſt neceſſarily be conducted; their names, as well as thoſe of ſome peers, were afterwards ſtruck out. Bradſhaw, a lawyer, was choſen preſident. Coke was appointed ſollicitor for the people of England. Doriſlaus, Steele, and Aſke, were named aſſiſtants. The court ſat in Weſtminſter-hall.

IT is obſervable, that, in calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

been inſerted in the number, a voice came from one of the ſpectators, and cried, *He has more wit than to be here.* When the charge was read againſt the King, *In the name of the people of England*; the ſame voice exclaimed, *Not a tenth part of them.* Axtel the officer, who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box, whence theſe inſolent ſpeeches came; it was diſcovered, that Lady Fairfax was there, and that it was ſhe who had had the courage to utter them. She was a perſon of very noble extraction, the daughter of Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury; but being ſeduced by the violence of the times, ſhe had long ſeconded her huſband's zeal againſt the royal cauſe, and was now, as well as he, ſtruck with abhorrence at the fatal and unexpected conſequence of all his boaſted victories.

The King's trial.

THE pomp, the dignity, the ceremony of this tranſaction correſponded to the greateſt conception, that is ſuggeſted in the annals of human kind; the delegates of a great people ſitting in judgment upon their ſupreme magiſtrate and trying him for his miſgovernment and breach of truſt. The ſollicitor, in name of the commons, repreſented, that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and *entruſted* with a limited power; yet nevertheleſs, out of a wicked deſign to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traiterouſly and maliciouſly levied war againſt the preſent parliament, and the people, whom they repreſented, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. After the charge was finiſhed, the preſident directed his diſcourſe to the King, and told him, that the court expected his anſwer.

THE King, tho' long detained a priſoner, and now produced as a criminal, ſuſtained, by his magnanimous courage, the majeſty of a monarch. With great tem-

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CHAP. LIX.

1649.

per and dignity, he declined the authority of the court, and refuſed to ſubmit himſelf to their juriſdiction. He repreſented, That, having been engaged in treaty with his two houſes of parliament, and having finiſhed almoſt every article, he had expected to be brought to his capital in another manner, and ere this time, to have been reſtored to his power, dignity, revenue, as well as to his perſonal liberty: That he could not now perceive any appearance of the upper houſe, ſo eſſential a member of the conſtitution; and had learned, that even the commons, whoſe authority was pretended, were ſubdued by lawleſs force, and were bereaved of their liberty: That he himſelf was their NATIVE HEREDITARY KING; nor was the whole authority of the ſtate, tho' free and united, intitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the Supreme Majeſty of Heaven: That, admitting thoſe extravagant principles, which levelled all orders of men, the court could plead no power, delegated by the people; unleſs the conſent of every individual, down to the meaneſt and moſt ignorant peaſant, had been previouſly aſked and obtained: That he acknowledged, without ſcruple, that he had a *truſt*, committed to him, and one moſt ſacred and inviolable; he was entruſted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by recognizing a power, founded on the moſt atrocious violence and uſurpation: That having taken arms, and frequently expoſed his life, in defence of public liberty, of the conſtitution, of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing, in this laſt and moſt ſolemn ſcene, to ſeal with his blood thoſe precious rights, for which, tho' in vain, he had ſo long contended: That thoſe, who arrogated a title to ſit as his judges, were born his ſubjects, and born ſubjects to thoſe laws, which determined, *That the king can do no wrong*: That he was not reduced to the neceſſity of ſheltering himſelf under that general maxim, which guards every Engliſh monarch,

monarch, even the leaſt deſerving; but was able, by the moſt ſatisfactory reaſons, to juſtify thoſe meaſures, in which he had been engaged: That, to the whole world, and even to them, his pretended judges, he was deſirous, if called upon in another manner, to prove the integrity of his conduct, and aſſert the juſtice of thoſe defenſive arms, to which, unwillingly and unfortunately, he had had recourſe: But that, in order to preſerve an uniformity of conduct, he muſt, at preſent, forego the apology of his innocence; leſt, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pyrates, he be juſtly branded as the betrayer, inſtead of being applauded as the martyr, of the conſtitution. CHAP. LIX. 1649.

THE preſident, in order to ſupport the majeſty of the people, and maintain the ſuperiority of his court above the priſoner, ſtill inculcated, That he muſt not decline the authority of his judges; that they over-ruled his objections; that they were delegated by the people, the only ſource of every lawful power; and that kings themſelves acted but in truſt from that community, which had inveſted this high court of juſtice with its juriſdiction. Even according to thoſe principles, which, in his preſent ſituation, he was perhaps obliged to adopt, his behaviour, in general, will appear not a little harſh and barbarous; but when we conſider him as a ſubject, and one too of no high character, addreſſing himſelf to his unfortunate ſovereign, his ſtyle will be eſteemed, to the laſt degree, audacious and inſolent.

THREE times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined their juriſdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined ſome witneſſes, by whom it was proved, that the King had appeared in arms againſt the forces commiſſioned by the parliament, they pronounced ſentence againſt him. He ſeemed very anxious, at this time, to be admitted to a conference with the two houſes; 27th of Jan.

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

houſes; and it was ſuppoſed, that he intended to reſign the crown to his ſon: But the court refuſed compliance, and conſidered that requeſt as nothing but a delay of juſtice.

IT is confeſſed, that the King's behaviour, during this laſt period of his life, does great honour to his memory; and that, in all appearances before his judges, he never forgot his part, either as a prince or as a man. Firm and intrepid, he maintained, in each reply, the utmoſt perſpecuity and juſtneſs both of thought and expreſſion: Mild and equable, he roſe into no paſſion at that unuſual authority, which was aſſumed over him. His ſoul, without effort or affectation, ſeemed only to remain in the ſituation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity. The ſoldiers, inſtigated by their ſuperiors, were brought, tho' with difficulty, to cry aloud for juſtice: *Poor ſouls!* ſaid the King to one of his attendants; *for a little money they would do as much againſt their commanders* [y]. Some of them were permitted to go the utmoſt length of brutal inſolence, and to ſpit in his face, as he was conveyed along the paſſage to the court. To excite a ſentiment of piety, was the only effect which this inhuman inſult was able to operate upon him.

THE people, tho' under the rod of lawleſs, unlimited power, could not forbear, with the moſt ardent prayers, to pour forth their wiſhes for his preſervation; and, in his preſent diſtreſs, they avowed *him*, by their generous tears, for their monarch, whom, in their miſguided fury, they had before ſo violently rejected. The King was ſoftened at this moving ſcene, and expreſſed his gratitude for their dutiful affection. One ſoldier too, ſeized by contagious ſympathy, demanded from heaven a bleſſing on oppreſſed and fallen majeſty: His officer, over-hear-

[y] Ruſh. vol. viii. p. 1425.

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ing his prayer, beat him to the ground in the King's presence. *The puniſhment, methinks, exceeds the offence:* This was the reflection, which Charles formed on that occaſion [z]. CHAP. LIX. 1649.

As ſoon as the intention of trying the King was known in foreign nations, ſo enormous an action was exclaimed againſt by the general voice of reaſon and humanity; and all men, under whatever form of government they were born, rejected this example, as the utmoſt effort of undiſguiſed uſurpation, and the moſt heinous inſult on law and juſtice. The French ambaſſador, by orders from his court, interpoſed on the King's behalf: The Dutch employed their good offices: The Scots exclaimed and proteſted againſt this violence: The Queen, the Prince, wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. All ſollicitations were found fruitleſs with men whoſe reſolutions were fixed and irrevocable.

FOUR of Charles's friends, perſons of the greateſt virtue and dignity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, Lindeſey, applied to the commons. They repreſented, That they were the King's counſellors, and had concurred, by their advice, with all thoſe meaſures which were now imputed as crimes to their royal maſter: That, in the eye of the law, and according to the dictates of common reaſon, they alone were guilty, and were alone expoſed to cenſure for every blameable action of the prince: And that they now preſented themſelves, in order to ſave, by their own puniſhment, that precious life, which it became the commons themſelves, and every ſubject, with the utmoſt hazard, to protect and defend [a]. Such a generous effort contributed to their honour; but operated nothing towards the King's ſafety.

THE people remained in that ſilence and aſtoniſhment, which all great paſſions, when they have not an

[z] Warwick, p. 339. [a] Perinchef, p. 85. Lloyde, p. 319.

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

opportunity of exerting themſelves, naturally produce in the human mind. The ſoldiers, being inceſſantly plied with prayers, ſermons, and exhortations, were wrought up to a degree of fury, and imagined, that, in the acts of the moſt extreme diſloyalty towards their prince, conſiſted their higheſt merit in the eyes of Heaven [b].

THREE days were allowed the King between his ſentence and his execution. This interval he paſſed with great tranquillity chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family, that remained in England, were allowed acceſs to him. It conſiſted only of the Princeſs Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloceſter; for the Duke of York had made his eſcape. Gloceſter was little more than an infant: The Princeſs, notwithſtanding her tender years, ſhewed a very advanced judgment; and the calamities of her family had made a deep impreſſion upon her. After many pious conſolations and advices, the King gave her in charge to tell the Queen, That, during the whole courſe of his life, he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal tenderneſs and his life ſhould have an equal duration.

To the young Duke too, he could not forbear giving ſome advice, in order to ſeaſon his mind with early principles of loyalty and obedience towards his brother, who was ſo ſoon to be his ſovereign. Holding him on his knee, he ſaid, "Now they will cut off thy father's "head." At theſe words, the child looked very ſtedfaſtly upon him. "Mark! child, what I ſay: They "will cut off my head! and perhaps make thee a king: "But mark what I ſay: Thou muſt not be a king, as long "as thy brothers, Charles and James, are alive. They "will cut off thy brother's heads, when they can catch "them! And thy head too they will cut off at laſt!

[b] Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times.

"And

" And therefore I charge thee do not be made a king CHAP. LIX.
" by them!" The Duke, ſighing, replied, " I will
" be torn in pieces firſt!" So determined an anſwer, 1649.
from one of ſuch tender years, filled the King's eyes with tears of joy and admiration.

EVERY night, during this interval, the King ſlept ſound as uſual; tho' the noiſe of workmen, employed in framing the ſcaffold, and other preparations for his execution, continually reſounded in his ears [c]. The morning of the fatal day, he roſe early; and calling Herbert, one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than uſual care in dreſſing him, and preparing him for ſo great and joyful a ſolemnity. Biſhop Juxon, a man endowed with the ſame mild and ſteddy virtues, by which 30th of Jan.
the King himſelf was ſo much diſtinguiſhed, aſſiſted him in his devotions, and paid the laſt melancholy duties to his friend and ſovereign.

THE ſtreet before Whitehall was the place deſtined And Execution.
for the execution: For it was intended, by chooſing that very place, in ſight of his own palace, to diſplay more evidently the triumph of popular juſtice over royal majeſty. When the King came upon the ſcaffold, he found it ſo ſurrounded with ſoldiers, that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people: He addreſſed, therefore, his diſcourſe to the few perſons who were about him; particularly Colonel Tomlinſon, to whoſe care he had lately been committed, and upon whom, as upon many others, his amiable deportment had operated an intire converſion. He juſtified his own innocence in the late fatal wars, and obſerved, that he had not taken arms, till after the parliament had inliſted forces; nor had he any other object in his warlike operations, than to preſerve that authority intire, which his anceſtors had tranſmitted to him. He threw not, however, the blame

[c] Clement Walker's hiſtory of independency.

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

upon the parliament; but was more inclined to think that ill inſtruments had interpoſed, and excited in them fears and jealouſies with regard to his intentions. Tho' innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker; and obſerved, that an unjuſt ſentence which he had ſuffered to take effect, was now puniſhed by an unjuſt ſentence upon himſelf. He forgave all his enemies, even the chief inſtruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to the way of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful ſovereign, his ſon and ſucceſſor. When he was preparing himſelf for the block, Biſhop Juxon called to him: "There is, Sir, but one "ſtage more, which, tho' turbulent and troubleſome, is "yet a very ſhort one. Conſider, it will ſoon carry you "a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; "and there you ſhall find, to your great joy, the prize, "to which you haſten, a crown of glory." I go," replied the King, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible "crown; where no diſturbance can have place." At one blow was his head ſevered from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner: Another, in a like diſguiſe, held up, to the ſpectators, the head, ſtreaming with blood, and cried aloud, *This is the head of a traitor!*

IT is impoſſible to deſcribe the grief, indignation, and aſtoniſhment, which took place, not only among the ſpectators, who were overwhelmed with a flood of ſorrow, but throughout the whole nation, ſo ſoon as the report of this fatal execution was conveyed to them. Never monarch, in the full triumph of ſucceſs and victory, was more dear to his people than his misfortunes and magnanimity, his patience and piety, had rendered this unhappy Prince. In proportion to their former deluſions, which had animated them againſt him, was the violence

of

of their return to duty and affection; while each reproached himſelf, either with active diſloyalty towards him, or with too indolent defence of his oppreſſed cauſe. On weaker minds, the effects of theſe complicated paſſions were prodigious. Women are ſaid to have caſt forth the untimely fruit of their womb: Others fell into convulſions, or ſunk into ſuch a melancholy as attended them to their grave: Nay ſome, unmindful of themſelves, as tho' they could not, or would not ſurvive their beloved prince, it is reported, ſuddenly fell down dead. The very pulpits were bedewed with unſuborned tears; thoſe pulpits, which had formerly thundered out the moſt violent imprecations and anathemas againſt him. And all men united in their deteſtation of thoſe hypocritical parricides, who, by ſanctified pretences, had ſo long diſguiſed their treaſons, and in this laſt act of iniquity, had thrown an indelible ſtain upon the nation. CHAP. LIX. 1649.

A freſh inſtance of hypocriſy was diſplayed the very day of the King's death. The generous Fairfax, not contended with being abſent from the trial, had uſed all the intereſt, which he yet retained, to prevent the execution of the fatal ſentence; and had even employed perſuaſion with his own regiment, tho' none elſe ſhould follow him, to reſcue the King from his diſloyal murderers. Cromwel and Ireton, informed of this intention, endeavoured to convince him, that the Lord had rejected the King; and they exhorted him to ſeek by prayer ſome direction from Heaven on this important occaſion: But they concealed from him, that they had already ſigned the warrant for the execution. Harriſon was the perſon appointed to join in prayer with the unwary general. By agreement, he prolonged his doleful cant, till intelligence arrived, that the fatal blow was ſtruck. He then roſe from his knees, and inſiſted with Fairfax, that this event was a miraculous and providen-

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CHAP. LIX.

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THE character of this Prince, as that of moſt men, if not of all men, was mixed; but his virtues predominated extremely above his vices, or, more properly ſpeaking, his imperfections: For ſcarce any of his faults roſe to that pitch as to merit the appellation of vices. To conſider him in the moſt favourable light, it may be affirmed, that his dignity was exempted from pride, his humanity from weakneſs, his bravery from raſhneſs, his temperance from auſterity, his frugality from avarice: All theſe virtues, in him, maintained their proper bounds, and merited unreſerved praiſe. To ſpeak the moſt harſhly of him, we may affirm, that many of his good qualities were attended with ſome latent frailty, which, tho' ſeemingly inconſiderable, was able, when ſeconded by the extreme malevolence of his fortune, to diſappoint them of all their influence: His beneficent diſpoſition was clouded by a manner not very gracious; his virtue was tinctured with ſuperſtition; his good ſenſe was diſ-

[d] Herbert, p. 135.

figured by a deference to perſons of a capacity much inferior to his own; and his moderate temper exempted him not from haſty and precipitant reſolutions. He deſerves the epithet of a good, rather than of a great man; and was more fitted to rule in a regular eſtabliſhed government, than either to give way to the encroachments of a popular aſſembly, or finally to ſubdue their pretenſions. He wanted ſuppleneſs and dexterity ſufficient for the firſt meaſure: He was not endowed with the vigour requiſite for the ſecond. Had he been born an abſolute prince, his humanity and good ſenſe had rendered his reign happy and his memory precious: Had the limitations on prerogative been, in his time, quite fixed and certain, his integrity had made him regard, as ſacred, the boundaries of the conſtitution. Unhappily, his fate threw him into a period, when the precedents of many former reigns favoured ſtrongly of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran violently towards liberty. And if his political prudence was not ſufficient to extricate him from ſo perilous a ſituation, he may be excuſed; ſince, even after the event, when it is commonly eaſy to correct all errors, one is at a loſs to determine what conduct, in his circumſtances, could have maintained the authority of the crown, and preſerved the peace of the nation. Expoſed, without revenue, without arms, to the aſſault of furious, implacable and bigotted factions, it was never permitted him, but with the moſt fatal conſequences, to commit the ſmalleſt miſtake; a condition too rigorous to be impoſed on the greateſt human capacity.

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

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CHAP. LIX. 1649.

reduced, and compare the ſincerity of his profeſſions and declarations; we ſhall avow, that probity and honour ought juſtly to be numbered among his moſt ſhining qualities. In every treaty, thoſe conceſſions, which, he thought, in conſcience, he could not maintain, he never could, by any motive or perſuaſion, be induced to make. And though ſome violations of the petition of right may be imputed to him; theſe are more to be aſcribed to the neceſſity of his ſituation, and to the lofty ideas of royal prerogative, which he had imbibed, than to any failure in the integrity of his principles [e]

THIS

[e] The imputation of inſincerity on Charles I. like many party-clamours, is very difficult to be removed; tho' it may not here be improper to ſay ſomewhat with regard to it. I ſhall firſt remark, that this imputation ſeems to be of a later growth than his own age; and that even his enemies, though they loaded him with many calumnies, did not inſiſt on this accuſation. Ludlow, I think, is almoſt the only Parliamentarian, who imputes that vice to him; and how paſſionate a writer he is, muſt be obvious to every one. Neither Clarendon nor any other of the royaliſts ever juſtify him from inſincerity; as not ſuppoſing that he had ever been accuſed of it. In the ſecond place, his deportment and character in common life was free from that vice: He was reſerved, diſtant, ſtately; cold in his addreſs, plain in his diſcourſe, inflexible in his principles; wide of the careſſing, inſinuating manners of his ſon; or the profeſſing, talkative humour of his father. The imputation of inſincerity muſt be grounded on ſome of his public actions, which we are therefore in the third place to examine. The following are the only inſtances, which I find cited to confirm that accuſation. (1.) His vouching Buckingham's narrative of the tranſactions in Spain. But it is evident that Charles himſelf was deceived: why otherwiſe did he quarrel with Spain? The following is a paſſage of a letter from lord Kenſington, ambaſſador in France, to the duke of Buckingham, Cabbala, p. 318. "But his highneſs (the "Prince) had obſerved as great a weakneſs and folly as that, in that after "they (the Spaniards) had uſed him ſo ill, they would ſuffer him to depart, "which was one of the firſt ſpeeches he uttered after he came into the ſhip: "But did he ſay ſo? ſaid the Queen (of France.) Yes, madam, I will aſ"ſure you, quoth I, from the witneſs of mine own ears. She ſmiled and "replied, Indeed I heard he was uſed ill. So he was, anſwered I, but "not in his entertainment; for that was as ſplendid as that country could af"ford it; but in their frivolous delays, and in the unreaſonable conditions "which they propounded and preſſed, upon the advantage they had of his "princely

THIS Prince was of a comely preſence; of a ſweet, but melancholy aſpect. His face was regular, handſome, and

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

"princely perſon." (2.) Biſhop Burnet, in his Hiſtory of the Houſe of Hamilton, p. 154. has preſerved a letter of the King's to the Scots biſhops, in which he deſires them not to be preſent at the parliament, where they would be forced to ratify the abolition of their own order: "For," adds the King, "we do hereby aſſure you, that it ſhall be ſtill one of our chiefeſt ſtu-"dies how to rectify and eſtabliſh the government of that church aright, and "to repair your loſſes, which we deſired you to be moſt confident of." And in another place, "You may reſt ſecure, that though perhaps we may give "way for the preſent to that which will be prejudicial both to the church "and our own government; yet we ſhall not leave thinking in time how to "remedy both." But does the King ſay, that he will arbitrarily revoke his conceſſions? Does not candor require us rather to ſuppoſe, that he hoped his authority would ſo far recover as to enable him to obtain the national conſent to re-eſtabliſh epiſcopacy, which he believed ſo material a part of religion as well as of government? It is not eaſy indeed to think how he could expect to effectuate this purpoſe in any other way than his father had taken, that is, by conſent of parliament. (3.) There is a paſſage in lord Clarendon, where it is ſaid, that the King aſſented the more eaſily to the bill, which excluded the biſhops from the Houſe of Peers; becauſe he thought, that that law, being enacted by force, could not be valid. But the King certainly reaſoned right in that concluſion. Three fourths of the Houſe of Peers were at that time baniſhed by the violence of the populace: Twelve biſhops were unjuſtly thrown into the Tower by the Commons: Great numbers of the Commons themſelves were kept away by fear or violence: The King himſelf was forced to leave London. If all this be not force, there is no ſuch thing. But this ſcruple of the King's affects only the biſhops' bill, and that againſt preſſing. The other conſtitutional laws had paſſed without the leaſt appearance of violence, as did indeed all the bills paſſed during the firſt year, except Strafford's attainder, which could not be recalled. The parliament, therefore, even if they had known the King's ſentiments in this particular, could have no juſt foundation of jealouſy. (4.) The King's letter intercepted at Naſeby, has been the ſource of much clamour. We have ſpoke of it already, chap. lviii. Perhaps, it had been better had the King avoided that refinement; yet nothing is more uſual in all public tranſactions. After the death of Charles II. of Spain, King William's ambaſſadors gave the duke of Anjou the title of King of Spain: Yet at that very time King William was ſecretly forming alliances to dethrone him: And ſoon after he refuſed him that title, and inſiſted (as he had reaſon) that he had not acknowledged his right. Yet King William juſtly paſſes for a very ſincere Prince; and this tranſaction is not regarded as any objection to his character. In all the negotiations at the peace of Ryſwic, the French am-

baſſadors

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

and well complexioned; his body ſtrong, healthy, and juſtly proportioned; and being of a middle ſtature, he was capable of enduring the greateſt fatigues. He excelled in horſemanſhip and other exerciſes; and he poſſeſſed all the exterior, as well as many of the eſſential qualities, which form an accompliſhed prince.

THE tragical death of Charles begot a queſtion, whether the people, in any caſe, were intitled to judge and to puniſh their ſovereign; and moſt men, regarding chiefly the atrocious uſurpation of the pretended judges, and the merit of the virtuous prince who ſuffered, were inclined ſtrongly to condemn the republican principles, as highly ſeditious and extravagant: But there ſtill were a few,

baſſadors always addreſſed King William as King of England; yet it was made an expreſs article of the treaty, that the French King ſhould acknowlege him as ſuch. Such a palpable difference is there between giving a title to a Prince, and poſitively recognizing his right to it. I may add, that Charles when he inſerted his proteſtation in the council-books before his council, ſurely thought he had reaſon to juſtify his conduct. There were too many men of honour in that company to avow a palpable cheat: To which we may ſubjoin, that, if men were as much diſpoſed to judge of this Prince's actions with candor as ſeverity, this precaution of entering a proteſt in his council-books might rather paſs for a proof of ſcrupulous honour; leſt he ſhould afterwards be reproached with breach of his word, when he ſhould think proper again to declare the aſſembly at Weſtminſter no parliament. (5.) The denying his commiſſion to Glamorgan is another inſtance which has been cited. This matter has been already treated chap. lviii. That tranſaction was entirely innocent. Even if the King had given a commiſſion to Glamorgan to conclude that treaty, and had ratified it, will any reaſonable man, in our age, think it ſtrange, that, in order to ſave his own life, his crown, his family, his friends, and his party, he ſhould make a treaty with papiſts, and grant them very large conceſſions for their religion. (6.) There is another of the King's intercepted letters to the Queen commonly mentioned; where, it is pretended, he talked of raiſing and then deſtroying Cromwel: But that ſtory ſtands on no manner of foundation, as we have obſerved in chap. lix. In a word, the parliament, after the commencement of their violences, and ſtill more, after beginning the civil war, had reaſon for their ſcruples and jealouſies, founded on the very nature of their ſituation, and on the general propenſity of the human mind; not on any fault of the King's character; who was candid, ſincere, upright; as much almoſt as any man, whom we meet with in hiſtory.

who,

who, abſtracting from the particular circumſtances of this caſe, were able to conſider the queſtion in general, and were inclined to moderate, not contradict, the prevailing ſentiment. Such might have been their reaſoning. If ever, on any occaſion, it were laudable to conceal truth from the populace; it muſt be confeſſed, that the doctrine of reſiſtance affords ſuch an example; and that all ſpeculative reaſoners ought to obſerve, with regard to this principle, the ſame cautious ſilence, which the laws, in every ſpecies of government, have ever preſcribed to themſelves. Government is inſtituted, in order to reſtrain the fury and injuſtice of the people; and being always founded on opinion, not on force, it is dangerous to weaken, by theſe ſpeculations, the reverence, which the multitude owe to authority, and to inſtruct them beforehand, that the caſe can ever happen, when they may be freed from their duty of allegiance. Or ſhould it be found impoſſible to reſtrain the licence of human diſquiſitions, it muſt be acknowleged, that the doctrine of obedience ought alone to be *inculcated*, and that the exceptions, which are very rare, ought ſeldom or never to be mentioned in popular reaſonings and diſcourſes. Nor is there any danger, that mankind, by this prudent reſerve, ſhould univerſally degenerate into a ſtate of abject ſervitude. When the exception really occurs, even though it be not previouſly expected and deſcanted on, it muſt, from its very nature, be ſo obvious and undiſputed, as to remove all doubt, and overpower the reſtraint, however great, impoſed by teaching the general doctrine of obedience. But between reſiſting a prince and dethroning him, there is a very wide interval; and the abuſes of power, which can warrant the latter violence, are much greater and more enormous, than thoſe which will juſtify the former. Hiſtory, however, ſupplies us with examples even of this kind; and the reality of the ſuppoſition, though, for the future,

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

ture, it ought ever to be little looked for, muſt, by all candid inquirers, be acknowledged in the paſt. But between dethroning a prince and puniſhing him, there is another very wide interval; and it were not ſtrange, if even men of the moſt enlarged thought ſhould queſtion, whether human nature could ever, in any monarch, reach that height of depravity, as to warrant, in revolted ſubjects, this laſt act of extraordinary juriſdiction. That illuſion, if it be an illuſion, which teaches us to pay a ſacred regard to the perſons of princes, is ſo ſalutary, that to diſſipate it by the formal trial and puniſhment of a ſovereign, will have more pernicious effects upon the people, than the example of juſtice can be ſuppoſed to have a beneficial influence upon princes, by checking their career of tyranny. 'Tis dangerous alſo, by theſe examples, to reduce princes to deſpair, or bring matters to ſuch extremities againſt perſons endowed with great power, as to leave them no reſource, but in the moſt violent and moſt ſanguinary councils. This general poſition being eſtabliſhed, it muſt, however, be obſerved, that no reader, almoſt of any party or principle, was ever ſhocked, when he read, in antient hiſtory, that the Roman ſenate voted Nero, their abſolute ſovereign, to be a public enemy, and, even without trial, condemned him to the ſevereſt and moſt ignominious puniſhment; ſuch a puniſhment, as the meaneſt Roman citizen was, by the laws, exempted from. The crimes of that bloody tyrant are ſo enormous, that they break through all rules; and extort a confeſſion, that ſuch a dethroned prince is no longer ſuperior to his people, and can no longer plead, in his own defence, laws, which were eſtabliſhed for conducting the ordinary courſe of adminiſtration. But when we paſs from the caſe of Nero to that of Charles, the great diſproportion, or rather total contrariety of characters, immediately ſtrikes us; and we ſtand aſtoniſhed, that, among a civilized

vilized people, ſo much virtue could ever meet with ſo fatal a cataſtrophe. Hiſtory, the great miſtreſs of wiſdom, furniſhes examples of all kinds; and every prudential, as well as moral precept, may be authorized by thoſe events, which her enlarged mirror is able to preſent to us. From the memorable revolutions, which paſſed in England during this period, we may naturally deduce the ſame uſeful leſſon, which Charles himſelf, in his latter years, inferred; that it is very dangerous for princes to aſſume more authority, than the laws have allowed them. But, it muſt be confeſſed, that theſe events furniſh us with another inſtruction, no leſs natural, and no leſs uſeful, concerning the madneſs of the people, the furies of fanaticiſm, and the danger of mercenary armies.

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

In order to cloſe this part of Britiſh hiſtory, it is alſo neceſſary to relate the diſſolution of the monarchy in England: That event ſoon followed upon the death of the monarch. When the peers met on the day, appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon buſineſs, and ſent down ſome votes to the commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the leaſt notice. In a few days, the lower houſe paſſed a vote, that they ſhould make no more addreſſes to the houſe of peers, nor receive any more from them; and that that houſe was uſeleſs and dangerous, and was therefore to be aboliſhed. A like vote paſſed with regard to the monarchy; and 'tis remarkable, that Martin, a zealous republican, in the debate on this queſtion, confeſſed, that, if they deſired a king, the laſt was as proper as any gentleman in England [f]. The commons formed a new great ſeal, on which that aſſembly was repreſented with this legend, ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED, 1648. The forms of all public buſineſs were changed, from the king's name, to that

6th of Feb.

[f] Walker's hiſtory of independency, part 2.

of

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

of the keepers of the liberties of England. And it was declared high treaſon to proclaim, or any otherwiſe acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called Prince of Wales.

THE commons intended to bind the Princeſs Elizabeth apprentice to a button-maker: The Duke of Gloceſter was to be taught ſome other mechanical employment. But the former ſoon died; of grief, as is ſuppoſed, for her father's tragical end: The latter was, by Cromwel, ſent beyond ſea.

THE King's ſtatue, in the Exchange, was thrown down; and on the pedeſtal theſe words were inſcribed: EXIT TYRANNUS, REGUM ULTIMUS; *The tyrant is gone, the laſt of the kings.*

DUKE HAMILTON was tried by a new high court of juſtice, as Earl of Cambridge in England; and condemned for high treaſon. This ſentence, which was certainly very hard, but which ought to ſave his memory from all imputations of treachery to his maſter, was executed on a ſcaffold, erected before Weſtminſter-hall. Lord Capel underwent the ſame fate. Both theſe noblemen had eſcaped from priſon, but were afterwards diſcovered and taken. To all the ſollicitations of their friends for pardon, the generals and parliamentary leaders ſtill replied, that it was certainly the intention of Providence they ſhould ſuffer; ſince it had permitted them to fall into their enemies hands, after they had once recovered their liberty.

THE Earl of Holland loſt his life by a like ſentence. Though of a polite and courtly behaviour, he died lamented by no party. His ingratitude to the King, and his frequent changing ſides, were regarded as great ſtains on his memory. The Earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen, being condemned by the ſame court, were pardoned by the commons.

THE

CHAP. LIX. 1649.

THE King left six children; three males, Charles, born in 1630, James Duke of York, born in 1633, Henry Duke of Gloceſter, born in 1641; and three females, Mary Princeſs of Orange, born 1631, Elizabeth, born 1635, and Henrietta, afterwards Ducheſs of Orleans, born at Exeter 1644.

THE Archbiſhops of Canterbury in this reign were Abbot and Laud: The Lord Keepers, Williams, Biſhop of Lincoln, Lord Coventry, Lord Finch, Lord Littleton, Sir Richard Lane; the Lord admirals, the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Northumberland; the Lord High Treaſurers, the Earl of Marlborough, the Earl of Portland, Juxon, Biſhop of London, Lord Cottington; the Secretaries of State, Lord Conway, Sir Albertus Moreton, Coke, Sir Henry Vane, Lord Falkland, Lord Digby, Sir Edward Nicholas.

IT may be expected that we ſhould here make mention of the *Icon Baſiliké*, a work publiſhed in the King's name a few days after his execution. It ſeems almoſt impoſſible, in the controverted parts of hiſtory, to ſay any thing which will ſatisfy the zealots of both parties: But with regard to the genuineneſs of that production, it is not eaſy for an hiſtorian to fix any opinion, which will be intirely to his own ſatisfaction. The proofs brought to evince that this work is or is not the King's, are ſo convincing, that, if an impartial reader peruſes any one ſide apart [g], he will thing it impoſſible, that arguments could be produced, ſufficient to counter-ballance ſo ſtrong an evidence: And when he compares both ſides, he will be

[g] See on the one hand, Toland's Amyntor, and on the other, Wagſtaffe's Vindication of the royal martyr, 3d edition, with Young's addition. We may remark, that Lord Clarendon's total ſilence with regard to this ſubject, in ſo full a hiſtory, compoſed in vindication of the King's meaſures and character, forms a ſtrong preſumption on Toland's ſide, and a preſumption of which that author was ignorant; the works of the noble hiſtorian not being then publiſhed. Biſhop Burnet's teſtimony too muſt be allowed of weight againſt the *Icon*.

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CHAP. LIX. 1649.

ſome time at a loſs to fix any determination. Should an abſolute ſuſpence of judgment be found difficult or diſagreeable in ſo intereſting a queſtion, I muſt confeſs, that I much incline to give the preference to the arguments of the royaliſts. The teſtimonies, which prove that performance to be the King's, are more numerous, certain, and direct, than thoſe on the other ſide. This is the caſe, even if we conſider the external evidence: But when we weigh the internal, derived from the ſtyle and compoſition, there is no manner of compariſon. Theſe meditations reſemble in elegance, purity, neatneſs, and ſimplicity, the genius of thoſe performances, which we know with certainty to have flowed from the royal pen: But are ſo unlike the bombaſt, perplexed, rhetorical, and corrupt ſtyle of Dr. Gauden, to whom they are aſcribed, that no human teſtimony ſeems ſufficient to convince us, that he was the author. Yet all the evidences, which would rob the King of that honour, tend to prove, that Dr. Gauden had the merit of writing ſo fine a performance, and the infamy of impoſing it on the world for the King's.

IT is not eaſy to conceive the general compaſſion excited towards the King, by the publiſhing, at ſo critical a juncture, a work ſo full of piety, meekneſs, and humanity. Many have not ſcrupled to aſcribe to that book the ſubſequent reſtoration of the royal family. Milton compares its effects to thoſe which were wrought on the tumultuous Romans by Anthony's reading to them the will of Caeſar. The *Icon* paſſed through fifty editions in a twelvemonth; and independent of the great intereſt taken in it by the nation, as the ſuppoſed production of their murdered ſovereign, it muſt be acknowleged the beſt proſe compoſition, which, at the time of its publication, was to be found in the Engliſh language.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

CHAP. LX.

State of England.——Of Scotland.——Of Ireland.——Levellers ſuppreſſed,——Siege of Dublin raiſed.—Tredah ſtormed.——Covenanters.——Montroſe taken priſoner.——Executed.——Covenanters.——Battle of Dunbar.——Of Worceſter.——King's eſcape.——The Commonwealth.——Dutch war.——Diſſolution of the Parliament.

CHAP. LX. 1649.

THE confuſion which overſpread England after the murder of Charles the Firſt, proceeded as well from the ſpirit of refinement and innovation, which agitated the ruling party, as from the diſſolution of all that authority, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, by which the nation had ever been accuſtomed to be governed. Every man had framed the model of a republic; and, however new it was, or fantaſtical, he was eager of recommending it to his fellow citizens, or even of impoſing it by force upon them. Every man had adjuſted a ſyſtem of religion, which, being derived from no traditional authority, was peculiar to himſelf; and being founded on ſuppoſed inſpiration, not on any principles of human reaſoning, had no means, beſides cant and low rhetoric, by which it could recommend itſelf to others. The Levellers inſiſted on an equal diſtribution of property and power, and diſclaimed all dependance and ſubordination. The Millenarians or Fifth-Monarchy-men required, that government itſelf ſhould be aboliſhed, and all human powers be laid in the duſt, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Chriſt, whoſe

State of England.

CHAP. LX.

1649.

ſecond coming on earth they ſuddenly expected. The Antinomians even inſiſted, that the obligations of morality and natural law were ſuſpended, and that the elect, guided by an internal principle, more perfect and divine, were ſuperior to the *beggarly elements* of juſtice and humanity. A conſiderable party declaimed againſt tythes and a hireling prieſthood, and were reſolved that the magiſtrate ſhould not ſupport by power or revenue any eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. Another party inveighed againſt the law and its profeſſors; and on pretence of rendering more ſimple the diſtribution of juſtice, were deſirous of aboliſhing the whole ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence, which ſeemed interwoven with monarchical government. Even thoſe among the republicans, who adopted not ſuch extravagancies, were ſo intoxicated with their ſaintly character, that they ſuppoſed themſelves poſſeſſed of peculiar privileges; and all profeſſions, oaths, laws, and engagements had, in a great meaſure, loſt their influence over them. The bands of ſociety were every where looſened; and the irregular paſſions of men were encouraged by ſpeculative principles, ſtill more unſocial and irregular.

THE Royaliſts, conſiſting of the nobles and more conſiderable gentry, being degraded from their authority and plundered of their property, were inflamed with the higheſt reſentment and indignation againſt thoſe ignoble adverſaries, who had reduced them to ſubjection. The preſbyterians, whoſe credit had firſt ſupported the arms of the parliament, were enraged to find, that, by the treachery or ſuperior cunning of their aſſociates, the fruits of all their ſucceſsful labours were raviſhed from them. The former party, from inclination and principle, zealouſly attached themſelves to the ſon of their unfortunate Monarch, whoſe memory they reſpected, and whoſe tragical death they deplored. The latter caſt their eye towards the ſame object; but they had ſtill many prejudices to overcome, many fears and jealouſies

to be allayed, ere they could cordially entertain thoughts of reſtoring that family, whom they had ſo grievouſly offended, and whoſe principles they regarded with ſuch violent abhorrence. CHAP. LX. 1649.

THE only ſolid ſupport of the republican independent faction, which, tho' it formed ſo ſmall a part of the nation, had violently uſurped the government of the whole, was a numerous army of about fifty thouſand men. But this army, formidable from its diſcipline and courage, as well as its numbers, was actuated by a ſpirit, that rendered it extremely dangerous to the aſſembly, which had aſſumed the command over it. Accuſtomed to indulge every chimera in politics, every frenzy in religion, the ſoldiers knew little of the ſubordination of citizens, and had only learned, from apparent neceſſity, ſome maxims of military obedience. And while they ſtill maintained, that all thoſe enormous violations of law and equity, of which they had been guilty, were juſtified by the ſucceſs, with which providence had bleſſed them; they were ready to break out into any new diſorder, wherever they had the proſpect of a like ſanction and authority.

WHAT alone gave ſome poize and ſtability to all theſe unſettled humours, was the great influence, both civil and military, acquired by Oliver Cromwel. This man, ſuited to the age in which he lived, and to that alone, was equally qualified to gain the affection and confidence of men, by what was mean, vulgar, and ridiculous in his character; as to command their obedience by what was great, daring, and enterprizing. Familiar even to buffoonery with the meaneſt centinel, he never loſt his authority: Tranſported to a degree of madneſs with religious extaſies, he never forgot the political purpoſes, to which they might ſerve. Hating monarchy, while a ſubject; deſpiſing liberty, while a citizen; tho' he re-

CHAP. LX. 1649.

tained for a time all orders of men under a ſeeming obedience to the parliament; he was ſecretly paving the way, by artifice and courage, to his own unlimited authority.

THE parliament, for ſo we muſt henceforth call a ſmall and inconſiderable part of the houſe of commons, having murdered their Sovereign with ſo many appearing circumſtances of ſolemnity and juſtice, and ſo much real violence and even fury, began to aſſume more the air of a civil, legal power, and to enlarge a little the narrow bottom, upon which they ſtood. A few of the excluded and abſent members, ſuch as were liable to leaſt exception, were admitted; but on condition, that they ſhould ſign an approbation of whatever had been done in their abſence with regard to the King's trial: And ſome of them were willing to acquire a ſhare of power on ſuch terms: The greateſt part diſdained to lend their authority to ſuch apparent uſurpations. They iſſued ſome writs for new elections, in places where they hoped to have intereſt enough to bring in their own friends and dependants. They named a council of ſtate to the number of thirty eight, to whom all addreſſes were made, who gave orders to all generals and admirals, who executed the laws, and who digeſted all buſineſs before it was introduced into parliament [a]. They pretended to employ themſelves entirely in adjuſting the laws, forms, and methods of a new repreſentative; and ſo ſoon as they ſhould have ſettled the nation, they profeſſed their intention of reſtoring the power to the peo-

[a] Their names were, the Earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, Saliſbury, Lords Grey, Fairfax, Lord Grey of Groby, Lord Liſle, Rolles, St. John, Wilde, Bradſhaw, Cromwel, Skippon, Pickering, Maſſam, Haſelrig, Harrington, Vane jun. Danvers, Armine, Mildmay, Conſtable, Pennington, Wilſon, Whitlocke, Martin, Ludlow, Stapleton, Hevingham, Wallop, Hutchinſon, Bond, Popham, Valentine, Walton, Scot, Purefoy, Jones.

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ple, from whom, they acknowledged, they had entirely derived it. CHAP. LX.

THE Commonwealth found every thing in England composed into a seeming tranquillity by the terror of their arms. Foreign powers, occupied in wars among themselves, had no leizure nor inclination to interpose in the domestic dissensions of this island. The young king, poor and neglected, living sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, sometimes in Jersey, comforted himself, amidst his present distresses, with the hopes of better fortune. The situation alone of Scotland and Ireland gave any immediate inquietude to the new Republic. 1649.

Of Scotland.

AFTER the successive defeats of Montrose and Hamilton, and the ruin of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid churchmen, that party which was most averse to the interests of the royal family. Their enmity, however, against the independents, who had prevented the long wished for settlement of presbyterian discipline in England, carried them to embrace opposite maxims in their political conduct. Tho' invited by the English parliament to model their government into a republican form, they resolved still to adhere to monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country, and which, by the express terms of their Covenant, they were obliged to defend. They considered besides, that as the property of the kingdom lay chiefly in the hands of great families, it would be difficult to establish a Commonwealth, or without some chief magistrate, invested with royal authority, to preserve peace or justice in the community. The execution therefore, of the king, against which they had always protested, having occasioned a vacancy of the throne, they immediately proclaimed his son and successor, Charles the second; but upon condition "of his

CHAP. LX. 1649.

"good behaviour and ſtrict obſervance of the Covenant, "and his entertaining no other perſons about him but "ſuch as were godly men and faithful to that obliga- "tion." Theſe unuſual clauſes, inſerted in the very firſt acknowlegement of their Prince, ſufficiently ſhewed their intention of limiting extremely his authority. And the Engliſh Commonwealth, having no pretence to interpoſe in the affairs of that kingdom, allowed the Scots, for the preſent, to take their own meaſures in ſettling their government.

Of Ireland.

THE dominion, which England claimed over Ireland, demanded more immediately their efforts for ſubduing that country. In order to convey a juſt notion of Iriſh affairs, it will be neceſſary to look backwards ſome years, and to relate briefly thoſe tranſactions, which had paſt during the memorable revolutions in England. When the late King agreed to that ceſſation of arms with the Popiſh rebels [a], which was become ſo requiſite, as well for the ſecurity of the Iriſh Proteſtants as for promoting his intereſts in England, the Parliament, in order to blacken his conduct, reproached him with favoring that odious rebellion, and exclaimed loudly againſt the terms of the ceſſation. They even went ſo far as to declare it entirely null and invalid, becauſe finiſhed without their conſent; and to this declaration the Scots in Ulſter, and the Earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of great authority in Munſter, profeſſed to adhere. By their means, the war was ſtill kept alive; but as the dangerous diſtractions in England hindered the parliament from ſending any conſiderable aſſiſtance to their allies in Ireland, Inchiquin entered into an accommodation with Ormond, whom the King had created Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom. This latter nobleman, being a native of Ireland, and a perſon endowed with great prudence and virtue, formed a ſcheme for compoſing the diſorders of

[a] 1643.

his

his country, and for engaging the rebel Iriſh to ſupport the cauſe of his royal maſter. There were many circumſtances which ſtrongly invited the Iriſh to embrace the King's party. The maxims of that Prince had always led him to give a reaſonable indulgence to the catholics throughout all his dominions; and one principal ground of that enmity, which the puritans profeſſed againſt him, was this tacit toleration. The parliament, even when unprovoked, had ever menaced the papiſts with the moſt rigid reſtraint, if not a total extirpation; and immediately after the commencement of the Iriſh rebellion, they put to ſale all the eſtates of the rebels, and had engaged the public faith for transferring them to the adventurers, who had already advanced money upon that ſecurity. The ſucceſs, therefore, which the arms of the parliament met with at Naſeby, ſtruck a juſt terror into the Iriſh; and engaged the council of Kilkenny, compoſed of deputies from all the catholic counties and cities, to conclude a peace with the Marqueſs of Ormond [b]. They profeſſed to return to their duty and allegiance, engaged to furniſh ten thouſand men for the ſupport of the King's authority in England, and were contented with ſtipulating, in return, indemnity for their rebellion and toleration of their religion.

CHAP. LX. 1649.

ORMOND not doubting but a peace, ſo advantageous and even neceſſary to the Iriſh, would be ſtrictly obſerved, advanced with a ſmall body of troops to Kilkenny, in order to concert meaſures for common defence with his new allies. The pope had ſent over to Ireland a nuncio, Rinuccini, an Italian; and this man, whoſe commiſſion empowered him to direct the ſpiritual concerns of the Iriſh, was emboldened, by their ignorance and bigotry, to aſſume the chief authority in the civil government. Foreſeeing that a general ſubmiſſion

[b] 1646.

CHAP. LX. 1649.

to the Lord-Lieutenant would put an end to his own influence, he conſpired with Owen Oneal, who commanded the native Iriſh in Ulſter, and who bore a great jealouſy to Preſton, the general chiefly truſted by the council of Kilkenny. By concert, theſe two malcontents ſecretly drew forces together, and were ready to fall on Ormond, who remained in ſecurity, truſting to the pacification ſo lately concluded with the rebels. He received intelligence of their treachery, made his retreat with great celerity and conduct, and ſheltered his ſmall army in Dublin and the other fortified towns, which ſtill remained in the hands of the Proteſtants.

THE nuncio, full of arrogance, levity, and ambition, was not contented with this violation of treaty. He ſummoned an aſſembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare againſt that pacification, which the civil council had concluded with their lawful ſovereign. He even thundered out a ſentence of excommunication againſt all thoſe who ſhould adhere to a peace, ſo prejudicial, as he pretended, to the catholic religion; and the deluded Iriſh, terrified with his ſpiritual menaces, ranged themſelves every where on his ſide, and ſubmitted to his authority. Without ſcruple, he carried on war againſt the Lord Lieutenant, and threatened with a ſiege the proteſtant garriſons, which were, all of them, very ill provided for defence.

MEANWHILE, the unfortunate King was neceſſitated to take ſhelter in the Scots army; and being there reduced to cloſe confinement, and ſecluded from all commerce with his friends, deſpaired, that his authority, or even his liberty, would ever be reſtored to him. He ſent orders to Ormond, if he could not defend himſelf, rather to ſubmit to the Engliſh than the Iriſh rebels; and accordingly the Lord Lieutenant, being reduced to the laſt extremity, delivered up Dublin, Tredah, Dundalk,

dalk, and other garriſons to colonel Michael Jones, who took poſſeſſion of them in the name of the Engliſh parliament. Ormond himſelf went over to England, was admitted to the King's preſence, received a grateful acknowlegement for his paſt ſervices, and during ſome time lived in tranquillity near London. But being baniſhed, with the other royaliſts, to a diſtance from that city, and ſeeing every event turn out unfortunately for his royal maſter, and threaten him with a cataſtrophe ſtill more direful, he thought proper to retire into France, where he joined the Queen and the Prince of Wales. 1649.

In Ireland, during theſe tranſactions, the authority of the nuncio prevailed without control among all the catholics; and that prelate, by his indiſcretion and inſolence, ſoon made them repent of the power, with which they had entruſted him. Prudent men likewiſe were ſenſible of the total deſtruction, which was hanging over the nation from the Engliſh parliament, and ſaw no reſource nor ſafety but in giving ſupport to the declining authority of the King. The Earl of Clanricarde, a nobleman of very antient family, a perſon too of merit, who had ever preſerved his loyalty, was ſenſible of the ruin which threatened his countrymen, and was reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent it. He ſecretly formed a combination among the catholics; he entered into a correſpondence with Inchiquin, who preſerved great authority over the proteſtants in Munſter; he attacked the nuncio, whom he chaced out of the iſland; and he ſent to Paris a deputation, inviting the Lord Lieutenant to return and take poſſeſſion of his government.

Ormond on his arrival in Ireland found the kingdom divided into many factions, among whom either open war or ſecret enmity prevailed. The authority of the Engliſh parliament was eſtabliſhed in Dublin, and the other towns, which he himſelf had delivered into their

CHAP. LX. 1649.

their hands. Oneale maintained his credit in Ulster; and having entered into a secret correspondence with the parliamentary generals, was more intent on schemes for his own personal safety than anxious for the preservation of his country or religion. The other Irish, divided between their clergy, who were averse to Ormond, and their nobility, who were attached to him, were very uncertain in their motions and feeble in their measures. The Scots in the north, enraged, as well as their other countrymen, against the usurpations of the sectarian army, professed their adherence to the King; but were still hindered by many prejudices from entering into a cordial union with his Lieutenant. All these distracted councils and contrary humors checked the progress of Ormond, and enabled the parliamentary forces in Ireland to maintain their ground against him. The English army, while employed in subduing the revolted royalists, in reducing the parliament to subjection, in the trial, condemnation, and execution of their sovereign, totally neglected the supply of Ireland, and allowed Jones and the forces in Dublin to remain in the utmost weakness and necessity. But the Lord Lieutenant, having at last, with much difficulty, assembled an army of 16000 men, advanced upon the English garrisons. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the garrison, who mutinied against their governor. Tredah, Neury, and other forts were taken. Dublin was threatened with a siege; and the affairs of the Lord Lieutenant appeared in so prosperous a condition, that the young King entertained thoughts of coming in person into Ireland.

When the English commonwealth was brought to some tolerable appearance of settlement, men began to cast their eyes towards the neighbouring island. During the contest of the two parties, the government of Ireland had remained a great object of intrigue; and the presbyterians endeavoured to obtain the lieutenancy for Waller,

CHAP. LX.

1649.

Waller, the independents for Lambert. After the execution of the King, Cromwel himſelf began to aſpire to a command, where ſo much glory, he ſaw, might be won, and ſo much authority acquired. In his abſence, 15th March. he took care to have his name propoſed to the council of ſtate; and both friends and enemies concurred immediately to vote him into that important office: The former ſuſpected, that the matter had not been propoſed merely by chance, without his own concurrence; the latter deſired to remove him to a diſtance, and hoped, during his abſence, to gain the aſcendant over Fairfax, whom he had ſo long blinded by his hypocritical profeſſions. Cromwel himſelf, when informed of his election, feigned ſurprize, and pretended at firſt to heſitate with regard to the acceptance of the command. And Lambert, either deceived by his diſſimulation, or, in his turn, feigning to be deceived, ſtill continued, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, his friendſhip and connexions with Cromwel.

THE new Lieutenant immediately applied himſelf with his wonted vigilance to make preparations for his expedition. Many diſorders in England it behoved him previouſly to compoſe. All places were full of danger and inquietude. Tho' men, aſtoniſhed with the ſucceſſes of the army, remained in ſeeming tranquillity, ſymptoms of the higheſt diſcontent every where appeared. The Engliſh, long accuſtomed to a mild government, and unacquainted with diſſimulation, could not conform their ſpeech and countenance to the preſent neceſſity, or pretend attachment to a form of government, which they generally regarded with ſuch violent abhorrence. It was requiſite to change the magiſtracy of London, and to degrade, as well as puniſh, the mayor and ſome of the aldermen, before the proclamation for the abolition of Monarchy could be publiſhed in the city. An engagement being framed to ſupport the Commonwealth without

CHAP. LX.

1649.

out King or Houſe of Peers, the army were with ſome difficulty brought to ſubſcribe it; but tho' it was impoſed upon the reſt of the nation under ſevere penalties, no leſs than the putting all refuſers out of the protection of law; ſuch obſtinate reluctance was obſerved in the people, that even the imperious parliament were obliged to deſiſt from it. The ſpirit of fanaticiſm, by which that aſſembly had at firſt been ſtrongly ſupported, was now turned, in a great meaſure, againſt them. The pulpits, being chiefly filled with preſbyterians, or diſguiſed royaliſts, and having been long the ſcene of news and politics, could by no penalties be reſtrained from declarations, unfavourable to the eſtabliſhed government. Numberleſs were the extravagances, which broke out among the people. Everard, a diſbanded ſoldier, having preached that the time was now come when the community of goods would be renewed among chriſtians, led out his followers to take poſſeſſion of the land; and being carried before the general, he refuſed to ſalute him; becauſe he was but his fellow creature [c]. What ſeemed more dangerous: The army itſelf was infected with like humors [d]. Tho' the levellers had for a time been ſuppreſſed

[c] Whitlocke.

[d] The following inſtance of extravagance is given by Walker, in his Hiſtory of Independency, part II. p. 152. About this time, there came ſix ſoldiers into the pariſh church of Walton upon Thames, near twilight; Mr. Faucet, the preacher there, not having till then ended his ſermon. One of the ſoldiers had a lanthorn in his hand, and a candle burning in it, and in the other hand four candles not lighted. He deſired the pariſhioners to ſtay awhile, ſaying he had a meſſage from God unto them, and thereupon offered to go into the pulpit. But the people refuſing to give him leave ſo to do, or to ſtay in the church, he went into the church-yard, and there told them, that he had a viſion wherein he had received a command from God, to deliver his will unto them, which he was to deliver, and they to receive upon pain of damnation; conſiſting of five lights, (1) "That the ſabbath was aboliſhed as un-"neceſſary, Jewiſh, and merely ceremonial. And here (quoth he) I ſhould "put out the firſt light, but the wind is ſo high I cannot kindle it. (2) "That tythes are aboliſhd as Jewiſh and ceremonial, a great burthen to the "ſaints

CHAP. LX. 1649.

preſſed by the audacious ſpirit of Cromwel, they ſtill continued to propagate their doctrines among the private men and inferior officers, who pretended a right to be conſulted, as before, in the adminiſtration of the Commonwealth. They now practiſed againſt their officers the ſame leſſon, which they had been taught againſt the parliament. They framed a remonſtrance, and ſent five agitators to preſent it to the general and council of war; Theſe were caſhiered with ignominy by ſentence of a court martial. One Lockier, having carried his ſedition farther, was ſentenced to death; but this puniſhment was ſo far from quelling the mutinous ſpirit, that above a thouſand of his companions ſhowed their adherence to him, by attending his funeral, and wearing in their hats black and ſea-green ribbons by way of favours. About four thouſand aſſembled at Burford under the command of Thomſon, a man formerly condemned for ſedition by a court-martial, but pardoned by the general. Colonel Reynolds, and afterwards Fairfax and Cromwel, fell

Levellers ſuppreſſed.

May.

" ſaints of God, and a diſcouragement of induſtry and tillage. And here I " ſhould put out my ſecond light, &c. (3.) That miniſters are aboliſhed as " Antichriſtian, and of no longer uſe now Chriſt himſelf deſcends into the " hearts of his ſaints, and his ſpirit enlighteneth them with revelations and " inſpirations. And here I ſhould put out my third light, &c. (4.) Ma- " giſtrates are aboliſhed as uſeleſs now that Chriſt himſelf is in purity amongſt " us, and hath erected the kingdom of the ſaints upon earth. Beſides they " are tyrants, and oppreſſors of the liberty of the ſaints, and tye them to " laws and ordinances, mere human inventions: And here I ſhould put out my " fourth light, &c. (5.) Then putting his hand into his pocket, and pulling " out a little bible, he ſhewed it open to the people, ſaying, Here is a book " you have in great veneration, conſiſting of two parts, the old and new " Teſtament: I muſt tell you it is aboliſhed; it containeth beggarly rudi- " ments, milk for babes: But now Chriſt is in glory amongſt us, and im- " parts a farther meaſure of his ſpirit to his ſaints than this can afford. I am " commanded to burn it before your face. Then putting out the candle " he ſaid; and here my fifth light is extinguiſhed." It became a pretty common doctrine at that time, that it was unworthy of a chriſtian man to pay rent to his fellow creatures; and landlords were obliged to uſe all the penalties of law againſt their tenants, whoſe conſcience was ſcrupulous.

upon

CHAP. LX. 1649.

upon them while unprepared for defence, and seduced by the appearance of a treaty. Four hundred were taken prisoners: Some of them capitally punished: The rest pardoned: And this tumultuous spirit, tho' it still lurked in the army, and broke out from time to time, seemed for the present to be suppressed.

PETITIONS framed in the same spirit of opposition were presented to the parliament by lieutenant-colonel Lilburn, the person who, for dispersing seditious pamphlets, had formerly been treated with such severity by the Star Chamber. His liberty was at this time as ill relished by the parliament, and he was thrown into prison, as a promoter of sedition and disorder in the Commonwealth. The women applied by petition for his release; but were now desired to mind their household affairs, and leave the government of the state to the men. From all quarters, the parliament were harrassed with petitions of a very free nature, which strongly spoke the sense of the nation, and proved how ardently all men longed for the restoration of their laws and liberties. Even in a feast, which the city gave to the parliament and council of state, it was esteemed a requisite precaution, if we may credit Walker and Dugdale, to swear all the cooks, that they would serve nothing but wholesome food to them.

THE parliament judged it necessary to enlarge the laws of high-treason beyond those narrow bounds, within which they had been confined during the monarchy. They even comprehended verbal offences, nay intentions, tho' they had never appeared in any overt-act against the state. To affirm the present government to be an usurpation, to assert that the parliament or council of state were tyrannical or illegal, to endeavour the subverting their authority or stirring up sedition against them; these offences were declared to be high-treason.

The

The power of impriſonment, of which the petition of right had bereaved the King, it was now found requiſite to reſtore to the council of ſtate; and all the jails of England were filled with men whom the jealouſies and fears of the ruling party had repreſented as dangerous [e]. The taxes continued by the new government, and which, being unuſual, were eſteemed heavy, encreaſed the general ill will under which it labored. Beſides the cuſtoms and exciſe, ninety thouſand pounds a month were levied on land for the ſubſiſtence of the army. The ſequeſtrations and compoſitions of the royaliſts, the ſale of the crown lands, and of the dean and chapter lands, tho' they yielded immenſe ſums, were not ſufficient to ſupply the vaſt expences, and, as was ſuſpected, the great depredations, of the parliament and of their creatures.

AMIDST all theſe difficulties and diſturbances, the ſteddy mind of Cromwel, without confuſion or embarraſſment, ſtill purſued its purpoſe. While he was collecting an army of twelve thouſand men in the weſt of England, he ſent to Ireland under Reynolds and Venables, a reinforcement of four thouſand horſe and foot, in order to ſtrengthen Jones, and enable him to defend himſelf againſt the Marqueſs of Ormond, who lay at Finglaſs and began to threaten Dublin. Inchiquin, with a ſeparate body, having taken Tredah and Dundalk, gave a defeat to Offarrell who ſerved under Oneal, and to young Coot who commanded ſome parliamentary forces. After he had joined his troops to the main army, with whom, for ſome time, he remained united, Ormond paſſed the river Liffy, and took poſt at Rathmines two miles from Dublin, with a view of commencing the ſiege of that city. In order to cut off all farther ſupply from Jones, he had begun the reparation of an old fort, which lay at the gates of Dublin; and being exhauſted with continual fatigue for ſome days, he had retired to reſt,

[e] Hiſtory of Independency, part II.

after

CHAP. LX.

1649.

after leaving orders to keep his forces under arms. He was ſuddenly awaked with the noiſe of firing; and ſtarting from his bed, ſaw every thing already in tumult and confuſion. Jones, an excellent officer, formerly a lawyer, had ſallied out with the reinforcement newly arrived; and attacking the party employed in repairing the fort, he totally routed them, purſued the advantage, and fell in with the army, which had neglected Ormond's orders. Theſe he ſoon threw into diſorder; put them to flight, in ſpite of all the efforts of the Lord-Lieutenant; chaced them off the field; ſeized all their tents, baggage, ammunition; and returned victorious to Dublin, after killing three thouſand men, and taking above two thouſand priſoners.

2d of Auguſt.

Siege of Dublin raiſed.

THIS loſs, which threw ſome blemiſh on the military character of Ormond, was irreparable to the royal cauſe. That numerous army, which, with ſo much pains and difficulty, the Lord-Lieutenant had been collecting for more than a year, was diſperſed in a moment. Cromwel ſoon after arrived in Dublin, where he was welcomed with mighty ſhouts and rejoicings. He haſtened immediately to Tredah. That town was well fortified; and Ormond had thrown into it a good garriſon of three thouſand men, under Sir Arthur Aſton, an officer of reputation. He expected that Tredah, lying in the neighbourhood of Dublin, would firſt be attempted by Cromwel, and he was willing to employ the enemy ſome time in that ſiege, while he himſelf ſhould repair his broken forces. But Cromwel knew the importance of diſpatch. Having made a breach, he ordered a general aſſault. Tho' twice repulſed with great loſs, he renewed the attack, and himſelf, along with Ireton, led on his men. All oppoſition was overborne by the furious valour of the troops. The town was taken ſword in hand; and orders being iſſued to give no quarter, a cruel ſlaughter was made of the garriſon. Even a few, who were ſaved by

September. Tredah ſtormed.

the

the ſoldiers, ſatiated with blood, were next day miſerably butchered by orders from the general. One perſon alone of the whole garriſon eſcaped to be a meſſenger of this univerſal havock and deſtruction.

CROMWEL pretended by this ſevere execution to retaliate the cruelty of the Iriſh maſſacre: But he well knew, that almoſt the whole garriſon was Engliſh; and his juſtice was only a barbarous policy, in order to terrify all other garriſons from reſiſtance. His policy, however, had the deſired effect. Having led the army without delay to Wexford, he began to batter the town. The garriſon after a ſlight defence offered to capitulate; but before they obtained a ceſſation, they imprudently neglected their guards; and the Engliſh army ruſhed in upon them. The ſame ſeverity was exerciſed as at Tredah.

EVERY town, before which Cromwel preſented himſelf, now opened its gates without reſiſtance. Roſs, tho' ſtrongly garriſoned, was ſurrendered by Lord Taffe. Having taken Eſtionage; Cromwel threw a bridge over the Barrow, and made himſelf maſter of Paſſage and Carric. Owen Oneale ſubmitted at diſcretion, and ſoon afterwards died. The Engliſh had no difficulties to encounter but what aroſe from fatigue and the advanced ſeaſon. Fluxes and contagious diſtempers crept in among the ſoldiers, who periſhed in great numbers. Jones himſelf, the brave governor of Dublin, died at Wexford. And Cromwel had ſo far advanced with his decayed army, that he began to find it difficult, either to ſubſiſt in the enemies country, or retreat to his own garriſons. But while he was in theſe ſtraits, Corke, Kinſale, and all the Engliſh garriſons in Munſter deſerted to him, and opening their gates reſolved to ſhare the fortunes of their victorious countrymen.

October.

November.

CHAP. LX.

1650. THIS deſertion of the Engliſh put an end entirely to Ormond's authority, which was already much diminiſhed by the misfortunes at Dublin, Tredah and Wexford. The Iriſh, actuated by national and religious prejudices, could no longer be kept in obedience by a proteſtant governor, who was ſo unſucceſsful in all his enterprizes. The clergy renewed their excommunications againſt him and his adherents, and added the terrors of ſuperſtition to thoſe ariſing from a victorious enemy. Cromwel having received a reinforcement from England, again took the field early in the ſpring. After a ſiege, he made himſelf maſter of Kilkenny, the only place where he met with any vigorous reſiſtance. The whole frame of the Iriſh union being in a manner diſſolved, Ormond, ſoon after, left the iſland, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs ſo deſperate as to admit of no remedy. The Iriſh were glad to embrace baniſhment as a refuge. Above 40,000 men paſſed into foreign ſervice; and Cromwel, well-pleaſed to free the iſland from enemies, who never could be cordially reconciled to the Engliſh, gave them full liberty and leiſure for their embarkation.

WHILE Cromwel proceeded with ſuch uninterrupted ſucceſs in Ireland, which in the ſpace of nine months he had almoſt entirely ſubdued, fortune was preparing for him a new ſcene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles was at the Hague, when Sir Joſeph Douglas brought him intelligence, that he was proclaimed King by the Scots parliament. At the ſame time, Douglas informed him of the hard conditions annexed to the proclamation, and damped extremely that joy, which might ariſe from his being recognized ſovereign in one of his kingdoms. Charles too conſidered, that thoſe who pretended to acknowlege his title, were at that very time in actual rebellion againſt his family, and would be ſure

to

to intruſt very little authority into his hands, and ſcarcely would afford him perſonal liberty and ſecurity. As the proſpect of affairs in Ireland was at that time very promiſing, he intended rather to try his fortune in that kingdom, from which he expected more dutiful ſubmiſſion and obedience.

MEANWHILE he found it expedient to depart from Holland. The people in the United Provinces were much attached to his intereſts. Beſides his connexion with the family of Orange, which was extremely beloved by the populace, all men regarded with compaſſion his helpleſs condition, and expreſſed the greateſt abhorrence againſt the murder of his father; a deed, to which nothing they thought, but the rage of fanaticiſm and faction could have impelled the parliament. But tho' the public in general bore a great favour to the King, the States were uneaſy at his preſence. They dreaded the parliament, ſo formidable by their power, and ſo proſperous in all their enterprizes. They apprehended the moſt precipitant reſolutions from men of ſuch violent and haughty diſpoſitions. And after the murder of Doriſlaus, they found it ſtill more neceſſary to ſatisfy the Engliſh Commonwealth, by removing the King at a diſtance from them.

DORISLAUS, tho' a native of Holland, had lived long in England; and being employed as aſſiſtant to the high court of juſtice, which condemned the King, he had riſen to great credit and favour with the ruling party. They ſent him envoy into Holland; but no ſooner had he arrived at the Hague, than he was ſet upon by ſome royaliſts, chiefly retainers to Montroſe. They ruſhed into the room, where he was ſitting with ſome company; dragg'd him from the table; put him to death as the firſt victim to their murder'd ſovereign; very leiſurely and peaceably ſeparated themſelves; and tho' orders were iſſued by the magiſtrates to arreſt them, theſe were

CHAP. LX. 1650.

executed with ſuch ſlowneſs and reluctance, that the criminals had, all of them, the opportunity to make their eſcape.

CHARLES, having paſs'd ſome time at Paris, where no aſſiſtance was given him, and even few civilities were paid him, made his retreat into Jerſey, where his authority was ſtill acknowleged. Winram, laird of Liberton, came to him as deputy from the committee of eſtates in Scotland, and informed him of the conditions, to which he muſt neceſſarily ſubmit before he could be admitted to the exerciſe of his authority. Conditions more ſevere, were never impoſed by ſubjects upon their ſovereign; but as the affairs of Ireland began extremely to decline, and the King found it no longer ſafe to venture himſelf in that iſland, he gave a civil anſwer to Winram, and deſired commiſſioners to meet him at Breda, in order to enter into a treaty with regard to theſe conditions.

Covenanters.

THE earls of Caſſilis and Lothian, the lord Burley, the laird of Liberton and other commiſſioners arrived at Breda; but without any power of treating: The King muſt ſubmit without reſerve to the terms impoſed upon him. The terms were, That he ſhould iſſue a proclamation, baniſhing from court all excommunicated perſons, that is, all thoſe, who either under Hamilton or Montroſe, had ventured their lives for his family; that no Engliſh ſubject, who had ſerved againſt the parliament, ſhould be allowed to approach him; that he ſhould bind himſelf by his royal promiſe to take the covenant; that he ſhould ratify all acts of parliament, by which preſbyterian government, the directory of worſhip, confeſſion of faith and catechiſm were enjoined; and that in civil affairs he ſhould govern himſelf entirely according to the direction of parliament, and in eccleſiaſtical according to that of the aſſembly. Theſe propoſals, the commiſſioners, after

paſſing

passing some time in sermons and prayers, in order to express the more determined resolution, very solemnly delivered to the King. CHAP. LX. 1650.

THE King's friends were extremely divided with regard to the part, which he should act in this critical conjuncture. Most of his English counsellors dissuaded him from accepting conditions, so disadvantageous and dishonourable. They said, that the men, who now governed Scotland, were the most furious and bigotted of that party, which, notwithstanding his gentle government, had first excited a rebellion against the late King; after the most unlimited concessions, had renewed their rebellion, and stopt the progress of his victories in England; and after he had entrusted his person with them in his uttermost distress, had basely sold him, together with their own honour, to his barbarous enemies: That they had as yet shown no marks of repentance, and even in the terms, which they now proposed, displayed the same antimonarchical principles, and the same jealousy of their Sovereign, by which they had ever been actuated: That nothing could be more dishonourable, than that the King, in his first enterprize, should sacrifice, merely for the empty name of royalty, those principles, for which his father had died a martyr, and in which he himself had been strictly educated: That by this hypocrisy he might lose the royalists, who alone were sincerely attached to him; but never would gain the presbyterians, who were averse to his family and his cause, and would ascribe his compliance merely to policy and necessity: That the Scots had refused to give him any assurances of their intending to restore him to the throne of England; and could they even be engaged to make such an attempt, it had sufficiently appeared, by the event of Hamilton's engagement, how unequal their force was to so great an enterprize: That on the first

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CHAP. LX. 1650.

check, which they ſhould receive, Argyle and his partizans would lay hold of the quickeſt expedient for reconciling themſelves to the Engliſh parliament, and would betray the King, as they had done his father, into the hands of his enemies: And that, however deſperate the royal cauſe, it muſt ſtill be regarded as highly imprudent in the King to make a ſacrifice of his honour; where the ſole purchaſe was to endanger his life or liberty.

THE Earl of Laneric, now Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Lauderdale, and others of that party, who had been baniſhed their country for the late engagement, were then with the King; and being deſirous of returning home in his retinue, they joined the opinion of the young Duke of Buckingham, and very earneſtly preſſed him to accept the conditions required of him. It was urged, that nothing would more gratify the King's enemies than to ſee him fall into the ſnare laid for him, and by ſo ſcrupulous a nicety leave the poſſeſſion of his dominions to thoſe who deſired but a pretence for excluding him: That Argyle, not daring ſo far to oppoſe the bent of the nation as to throw off all allegiance to his ſovereign, had embraced this expedient, by which he hoped to make Charles dethrone himſelf, and refuſe a kingdom, which was offered him: That it was not to be doubted but the ſame national ſpirit, aſſiſted by Hamilton and his party, would ſtill riſe higher in favour of their Prince after he had intruſted himſelf to their fidelity, and would much abate the rigor of the conditions, now impoſed upon him: That whatever might be the preſent intentions of the ruling party, they muſt unavoidably be engaged in a war with England, and muſt accept the aſſiſtance of the King's friends of all parties, in order to ſupport themſelves againſt a power, ſo much ſuperior: That however a ſteddy, uniform conduct might have been ſuitable to the advanced age, and ſtrict

engage-

engagements of the late King, no one would throw any blame on a young Prince for complying with conditions, which neceſſity had extorted from him: That even the rigour of thoſe principles, profeſſed by his father, tho' with ſome it had exalted his character, had been extremely prejudicial to his intereſt; nor could any thing be more ſerviceable to the royal cauſe than to give all parties room to hope for more equal and more indulgent maxims of government: And that where affairs were reduced to ſo deſperate a ſituation, dangers ought little to be regarded; and the King's honour lay rather in ſhowing ſome early ſymptoms of courage and activity, than in chooſing ſtrictly a Party among theological controverſies, with which, it might be ſuppoſed, he was, as yet, very little acquainted.

CHAP. LX. 1650.

THESE arguments, ſeconded by the advice of the Queen and of the Prince of Orange, the King's brother in law, who both of them eſteemed it ridiculous to refuſe a kingdom, merely from regard to epiſcopacy, had great influence on Charles. But what chiefly determined him to comply was the account brought him of the fate of Montroſe, who, with all the circumſtances of rage and contumely, had been put to death by his zealous countrymen. Though in this inſtance the King ſaw more evidently the furious ſpirit, by which the Scots were actuated, he had now no farther reſource, and was obliged to grant whatever was demanded of him.

MONTROSE, having laid down his arms at the command of the late King, had retired into France, and, contrary to his natural diſpoſition, lived for ſome time inactive at Paris. He there became acquainted with the famous Cardinal de Retz; and that penetrating judge celebrates him in his memoirs as one of thoſe heroes, of whom there are no longer any remains in the world, and who are only to be met with in Plutarch. Deſirous of improving his martial genius, he took a journey to Germany,

CHAP. LX. 1650.

many, was careſſed by the Emperor, received the rank of Mareſchal, and propoſed to levy a regiment for the Imperial ſervice. While employed for that purpoſe in the Low Countries, he heard of the tragical death of the King; and at the ſame time received from his young maſter a renewal of his commiſſion of Captain General in Scotland [f]. His ardent and daring ſpirit needed but this authority to put him in action. He gathered followers in Holland and the north of Germany, whom his great reputation allured to him. The King of Denmark and Duke of Holſtein ſent him ſome ſmall ſupplies of money: The Queen of Sweden furniſhed him with arms: The Prince of Orange with ſhips: And Montroſe, haſtening his enterprize, leſt the King's agreement with the Scots ſhould make him revoke his commiſſion, ſet out for the Orkneys with about 500 men, moſt of them Germans. Theſe were all the preparations, which he could make againſt a kingdom, ſettled in domeſtic peace, ſupported by a diſciplined army, fully apprized of his enterprize, and prepared againſt him. Some of his retainers having told him of a propheſy, that *to him and him alone it was reſerved to reſtore the King's authority in all his dominions*; he lent a willing ear to ſuggeſtions, which, however ill grounded or improbable, were ſo conformable to his own magnanimous diſpoſition.

HE armed ſeveral of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, though an unwarlike people, and carried them over with him to Caithneſs; hoping, that the general affection to the King's ſervice, and the fame of his former exploits, would make the Highlanders flock to his ſtandard. But all men were now harraſſed and fatigued with wars and diſorders: Many of thoſe, who formerly adhered to him, had been ſeverely puniſhed by the covenanters: And no proſpect of ſucceſs was entertained in oppoſition to ſo great

[f] Burnet, Clarendon.

great a force as was drawn together againſt him. But however weak Montroſe's army, the memory of paſt events ſtruck a great terror into the committee of eſtates. They immediately ordered Leſley and Holborne to march againſt him with an army of 4000 men. Strahan was ſent before with a body of cavalry to check his progreſs. He fell unexpectedly on Montroſe, who had no horſe to bring him intelligence. The royaliſts were put to flight; all of them either killed or taken priſoners; and Montroſe himſelf, having put on the diſguiſe of a peaſant, was perfidiouſly delivered into the hands of his enemies, by a friend, to whom he had entruſted his perſon.

CHAP. LX. 1650.

Montroſe taken priſoner.

ALL the inſolence, which ſucceſs can produce in ungenerous minds, was exerciſed by the covenanters againſt Montroſe, whom they ſo much hated and ſo much dreaded. Theological antipathy farther encreaſed their indignities towards a perſon whom they regarded as execrable on account of the excommunication, which had been pronounced againſt him. Leſley led him about for ſeveral days in the ſame low habit, under which he had diſguiſed himſelf. The vulgar, wherever he paſſed, were inſtigated to reproach and vilify him. When he came to Edinburgh, every circumſtance of elaborate rage and inſult was put in practice by order of the parliament. At the eaſtern gate of the city, he was met by the magiſtrates, and put into a new cart, purpoſely made with a high chair or bench, where he was placed, that the people might have a full view of him. He was bound with a cord, drawn over his breaſt and ſhoulders, and faſtened through holes made in the cart. When in this poſture, the hangman took off the hat of the noble priſoner, and rode himſelf before the cart in his livery, and with his bonnet on; the other officers, who were taken priſoners with the Marqueſs, walking two and two before them.

THE

CHAP. LX. 1650.

THE populace, more generous and humane, when they ſaw ſo mighty a change of fortune in this great man, ſo lately their dread and terror, into whoſe hands the magiſtrates, a few years before, had delivered on their knees the keys of the city, were ſtruck with compaſſion, and viewed him with ſilent tears and admiration. The preachers, next Sunday, exclaimed againſt theſe movements of rebel nature, as they expreſſed it: and reproached the people with their profane tenderneſs towards this capital enemy of all piety and religion.

WHEN he was carried before the parliament, which was then ſitting, Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declamation, reproached him with the breach of the national covenant, which he had ſubſcribed; his rebellion againſt God, the King, and the kingdom; and the many horrible murders, treaſons, and impieties, for which he was now to be brought to condign puniſhment. Montroſe in his anſwer maintained the ſame ſuperiority above his enemies, to which, by his fame and great actions, as well as by the conſcience of a good cauſe, he was juſtly entitled. He told the parliament, that ſince the King, as he was informed, had ſo far avowed their authority as to enter into treaty with them, he now appeared uncovered before their tribunal; a reſpect, which, while they ſtood in open defiance to their ſovereign, they would in vain have required of him. That he acknowledged with infinite ſhame and remorſe the errors of his early conduct, when their plauſible pretences had ſeduced him to tread with them the paths of rebellion, and bear arms againſt his prince and country. That his following ſervices, he hoped, had ſufficiently teſtified his repentance, and his death would now atone for that guilt, the only one with which he could juſtly reproach himſelf. That in all his warlike enterprizes he was warranted by that commiſſion, which he had received

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CHAP. LX. 1650.

"priated for common malefactors; except the church, "upon his repentance, ſhould take off his excommuni- "cation."

THE clergy, hoping, that the terrors of immediate death had now given them an advantage over their enemy, flocked about him, and inſulted over his fallen fortunes. They pronounced his damnation, and aſſured him, that the judgment, which he was ſo ſoon to ſuffer, would prove but an eaſy prologue to that which he muſt undergo hereafter. They next offered to pray with him: But he was too well acquainted with thoſe forms of imprecation, which they called prayers. "Lord, "vouchſafe yet to touch the obdurate heart of this "proud incorrigible ſinner; this wicked, perjured, "traiterous, and profane perſon, who refuſes to hearken "to the voice of thy church." Such were the petitions which he expected they would, according to cuſtom, offer up for him. He told them, that they were a miſerable deluded and deluding people; and would ſhortly bring their country under the moſt inſupportable ſervitude, to which any nation had ever been reduced. "For my "part," added he, "I am much prouder to have my "head affixed to the place, where it is ſentenced to ſtand, "than to have my picture hang in the King's bed- "chamber. So far from being ſorry, that my legs and "arms are to be ſent to four cities of the kingdom; I "wiſh I had limbs enough to be diſperſed into all the "cities of Chriſtendom, there to remain as teſtimonies "in favour of the cauſe, for which I ſuffer." This ſentiment, that very evening, while in priſon, he threw into verſe. The poem remains; a ſignal monument of his heroic ſpirit, and no deſpicable proof of his poetical genius.

21ſt of May. NOW was led forth, amidſt the inſults of his enemies and the tears of the people, the man of the moſt illuſtrious birth and greateſt renown of the nation, to ſuffer,

for

CHAP. LX. 1650.

for his adherence to the laws of his country, and the rights of his ſovereign, the ignominious death deſtined to the meaneſt malefactor. Every attempt, which the inſolence of the governing party had made to ſubdue his gallant ſpirit, had hitherto proved fruitleſs: They made yet one effort more, in this laſt and melancholy ſcene, when all enmity, ariſing from motives merely human, is commonly ſoftened and diſarmed. The executioner brought that book, which had been publiſhed in elegant Latin of his truly heroic actions, and tied it by a cord about his neck. Montroſe ſmiled at this new inſtance of their malice. He thanked them, however, for their officious zeal; and ſaid, that he bore this teſtimony of his bravery and loyalty with more pride than he had ever worne the garter. Having aſked, whether they had any more indignities to put upon him, and renewing ſome devout ejaculations, he patiently endured the laſt act of the executioner. Executed.

THUS periſhed, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, the gallant marqueſs of Montroſe; the man whoſe military genius, both by valour and conduct, had ſhone forth beyond any, which, during theſe civil diſorders, had appeared in the three kingdoms. The finer arts too, in his youth, he had ſucceſsfully cultivated; and whatever was ſublime, elegant, or noble touched his great ſoul. Nor was he inſenſible to the pleaſures either of ſociety or of love. Something, however, of the *vaſt* and *unbounded* characterized all his actions and deportment; and it was merely by an heroic effort of duty, that he brought his mind, impatient of ſuperiority, and even of equality, to pay ſuch unlimited ſubmiſſion to the will of his ſovereign.

THE vengeance of the covenanters was not ſatisfied with Montroſe's execution. Urrey, whoſe inconſtancy now led him to take part with the King, ſuffered about the

CHAP. LX. 1650.

the ſame time: Spotiſwood of Daerſie, a youth of eighteen, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgetie, and Colonel Sibbald, all of them men of birth and character, underwent a like fate. Theſe were taken priſoners with Montroſe. The Marqueſs of Huntley, about a year before, had alſo fallen a victim to the ſeverity of the covenanters.

THE paſt ſcene diſplays in a full light the barbarity of this theological faction: The ſequel will ſufficiently diſcover their abſurdities. The corruptions of the beſt things produce the worſt; and no wonder that the abuſes of religion ſhould of all others be the moſt odious and ridiculous. In order to convey a juſt notion of the genius of the age, we are obliged ſometimes in our narration to make uſe of the ſame cant and expreſſion, which was then ſo prevalent.

23d of June. THE King, in conſequence of his agreemeent with the Scots commiſſioners, ſet ſail for Scotland; and being eſcorted by ſeven Dutch ſhips of war, who were ſent to guard the herring fiſhery, he arrived in the firth of Cromarty. Before he was permitted to land, he was required to ſign the covenant; and many ſermons and lectures were made him, exhorting him to perſevere in Covenanteers that holy confederacy [z]. Hamilton, Lauderdale, Dumfermling, and other noblemen of that faction whom they called Engagers, were immediately ſeparated from him, and obliged to retire to their houſes, where they lived in a private manner, without truſt or authority. None of his Engliſh friends, who had ſerved his father, were allowed to remain in the kingdom. The King himſelf found, that he was conſidered as a mere pageant of ſtate, and that the few remains of royalty, which he poſſeſſed, ſerved only to draw on him the greater indignities. One of the quarters of Montroſe, his faithful ſervant, who had borne his commiſſion, he

[z] Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 159.

found hanging at Aberdeen. [h] The general aſſembly, and afterwards the committee of eſtates and the army, who were entirely governed by the aſſembly, ſet forth a public declaration, in which they proteſted, "that they "did not eſpouſe any malignant quarrel or party, but "fought merely on their former grounds or principles; "that they diſclaimed all the ſins and guilt of the "King, and of his houſe; nor would they own him or "his intereſt, otherwiſe than with a ſubordination to "God, and ſo far as he owned and proſecuted the cauſe "of God, and acknowleged the ſins of his houſe, and "of his former ways [i]." CHAP. LX. 1650.

THE King, lying entirely at mercy, and having no aſſurance of liberty or life, farther than was agreeable to the fancy of theſe auſtere zealots, was conſtrained to embrace a meaſure, which nothing but the neceſſity of his affairs, and his great youth and inexperince could excuſe. He iſſued a declaration, ſuch as they required of him [k]. He there gave thanks for the merciful diſpenſations of providence, by which he was recovered out of the ſnare of evil councils, had attained a full perſuaſion of the righteouſneſs of the covenant, and was induced to caſt himſelf and his intereſt wholly upon God. He deſired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in ſpirit, becauſe of his father's following evil council, oppoſing the covenant and the work of reformation, and ſhedding the blood of God's people through all his dominions. He lamented the idolatry of his mother and the toleration of it in his father's houſe; a matter of great offence, he ſaid, to all the proteſtant churches, and a great provocation to him who is a jealous God, viſiting the ſins of the father upon the children. He profeſſed, that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the 16th of Auguſt.

[h] Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 160. [i] Ibid. p. 166, 167. [k] Ibid. p. 170.

covenant;

CHAP. LX. 1650.

covenant; and that he deteſted all popery, ſuperſtition, prelacy, hereſy, ſchiſm, and profaneneſs; and was reſolved not to tolerate, much leſs to countenance any of them in any of his dominions. He declared, that he would never love nor favour any who have ſo little conſcience as to follow his intereſts, in preference to the goſpel and the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt. And he expreſſed his hope, that whatever ill ſucceſs his former guilt might have drawn upon his cauſe, yet now, having obtained mercy to be on God's ſide, and to acknowlege his own cauſe ſubordinate to that of God, the divine providence would crown his arms with victory.

STILL the covenanters and the clergy were diffident of the King's ſincerity. The facility, which he diſcovered in yielding to whatever was required of him, made them ſuſpect that he regarded all his conceſſions merely as ridiculous farces, to which he muſt of neceſſity ſubmit. They had another trial prepared for him. Inſtead of the ſolemnity of his coronation, which was delayed, they were reſolved, that he ſhould paſs through a public humiliation, and do penance before the whole people. They ſent him twelve articles of repentance, which he was to acknowlege; and the King had agreed, that he would ſubmit to this indignity. The various tranſgreſſions of his father and grandfather, together with the idolatry of his mother, are again enumerated and aggravated in theſe articles; and farther declarations were inſiſted on, that he ſought the reſtitution of his rights, for the ſole advancement of religion, and in ſubordination to the kingdom of Chriſt[1]. In ſhort, having exalted the altar above the throne, and brought royalty under their feet, the clergy were reſolved to trample on it and vilify it, by every inſtance of contumely, which their

[1] Sir Edward Walker's Hiſtorical Diſcourſes, p. 178.

preſent

preſent influence enabled them to impoſe upon their unhappy prince. CHAP. LX.

1650.

CHARLES in the mean time found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was conſulted in no public meaſure. He was not called to aſſiſt at any councils. His choice was ſufficient to diſcredit any pretender to office or advancement. All efforts, which he made to unite the oppoſite parties, encreaſed the ſuſpicion, which the covenanters had entertained of him, as if he was not entirely their own. Argyle, who by ſubtilties and compliances, partly led and partly was governed by this wild faction, ſtill turned a deaf ear to all advances, which the King made to enter into confidence with him. *Malignants* and *Engagers* continued to be the objects of general hatred and perſecution; and whoever was diſagreeable to the clergy failed not to have one of theſe epithets affixed to him. The fanaticiſm, which prevailed, being ſo full of ſour and angry principles, and ſo overcharged with various antipathies, had acquired a new object of abhorrence: Theſe were the *Sorcerers*. So prevalent was the opinion of witchcraft, that great numbers, accuſed of that crime, were burnt by ſentence of the magiſtrates thro' all parts of Scotland. In a village near Berwic, which contained only fourteen houſes, fourteen perſons were puniſhed by fire [m]; and it became a ſcience every where much ſtudied and cultivated, to diſtinguiſh a true witch by proper trials and ſymptoms [n].

THE advance of the Engliſh army under Cromwel was not able to appeaſe or ſoften the animoſities among the Scots parties. The clergy were ſtill reſolute to exclude all but their moſt zealous adherents. So ſoon as the Engliſh parliament found that the treaty between the King and the Scots would probably terminate in an

[m] Whitlocke, p. 434. 408. [n] Ibid. p. 396. 418.

CHAP. LX. 1650.

accommodation, they made preparations for a war, which, they ſaw, would, in the end, prove inevitable. Cromwel having now broke the force and courage of the Iriſh, was ſent for; and he left the command of Ireland to Ireton, who governed that kingdom in the character of deputy, and with great vigilance and induſtry perſevered in the work of ſubduing and expelling the natives.

IT was expected, that Fairfax, who ſtill retained the name of General, would continue to act againſt Scotland, and appear at the head of the armies; a ſtation for which he was well qualified, and where alone he made any figure. But Fairfax, though he had allowed the army to make uſe of his name in murdering their ſovereign, and offering violence to the parliament, had entertained unſurmountable ſcruples againſt invading the Scots, whom he conſidered as zealous preſbyterians, and united to England by the ſacred bands of the covenant. He was farther diſguſted at the extremities into which he had already been hurried; and was confirmed in his reſolution by the exhortations of his wife, who had great influence over him, and was herſelf much governed by the preſbyterian clergy. A committee of parliament was ſent to reaſon with him; and Cromwel was one of the number. In vain did they urge, that the Scots had firſt broke the covenant by their invaſion of England under Duke Hamilton; and that they would ſurely renew their hoſtile attempts, if not prevented by the vigorous meaſures of the Commonwealth. Cromwel, who knew the rigid inflexibility of Fairfax, in every thing, which he regarded as matter of principle, ventured to ſolicit him with the utmoſt earneſtneſs; and he went ſo far as to ſhed tears of grief and vexation on this occaſion. No one could ſuſpect any ambition in the man, who laboured ſo zealouſly to retain his general in that high office, which, he knew, he himſelf was alone entitled

entitled to fill. The ſame warmth of temper, which made Cromwel a moſt frantic enthuſiaſt, rendered him the moſt dangerous of hypocrites; and it was to this turn of mind, as much as to his courage and capacity, that he owed all his wonderful ſucceſſes. By the contagious ferment of his zeal, he engaged every one to cooperate with him in his meaſures; and entering eaſily and affectionately into every part, which he was diſpoſed to act, he was enabled, even after multiplied deceits, to cover, under a tempeſt of paſſion, all his crooked ſchemes and profound artifices. CHAP. LX. 1650.

FAIRFAX having reſigned his commiſſion, it was beſtowed on Cromwel, who was declared captain-general of all the forces in England. This command, in a Commonwealth, which ſtood entirely by arms, was of the utmoſt importance; and was the chief ſtep, which this ambitious politician had yet made towards ſovereign power. He immediately marched his forces, and entered Scotland with an army of 16,000 men.

THE command of the Scots army was given to Leſley, a good officer, who formed a very proper plan for defence. He entrenched himſelf in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove from the counties of Merſe and the Lothians every thing which could ſerve to ſupport the Engliſh army. Cromwel advanced to the Scots camp, and endeavoured, by every expedient, to bring Leſley to a battle: The prudent Scotſman knew, that, tho' ſuperior in numbers, his army was much inferior in diſcipline and experience to the Engliſh; and he kept himſelf carefully within his entrenchments. By ſkirmiſhes and ſmall rencounters he tried to confirm the ſpirits of his ſoldiers; and he was ſucceſsful in theſe enterprizes. His army encreaſed daily both in numbers and courage. The King came to the camp; and having exerted himſelf in an action, gained extremely on the affections of the ſoldiery, who were

CHAP. LX. 1650.

more desirous of serving under a young prince of spirit and vivacity than under a committee of talking gownmen. The clergy were alarmed. They ordered the King immediately to leave the camp. They also purged it carefully of about 4000 *Malignants* and *Engagers*, whose zeal had led them to attend the King, and who were the soldiers of chief credit and experience in the nation [o]. They then concluded, that they had an army composed entirely of saints, and could not be beaten. They murmured extremely, not only against their prudent general, but also against the Lord, on account of his delays in giving them deliverance [p]; and they plainly told him, that, if he would not save them from the English sectaries, he should no longer be their God [q]. An advantage having offered itself on a Sunday, they hindred the general from making use of it, lest he should involve the nation in the guilt of sabbath-breaking.

CROMWEL found himself in a very bad situation. He had no provisions but what he received by sea. He had not had the precaution to bring these in sufficient quantities; and his army was reduced to difficulties. He retired to Dunbar. Lesley followed him and encamped on the heights of Lammermure, which overlook that town. There lay many difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwic, and of these Lesley had taken possession. The English general was brought to extremity. He had even entertained a resolution of sending by sea all his foot and artillery to England, and of breaking thro', at all hazards, with his cavalry. The madness of the Scots ecclesiastics saved him from this loss and dishonour.

NIGHT and day the ministers had been wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they fancied, that they had at last obtained the victory. Revelations, they said, were made them, that the sectarian and here-

[o] Sir Ed. Walker, p. 165. [p] Id. p. 168 [q] Whitlocke, p. 449.

tical

tical army, together with Agag, meaning Cromwel, was delivered into their hands. Upon the faith of these visions, they forced their general, in spite of all his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, with a view of attacking the English in their retreat. Cromwel, looking thro' a perspective glass, saw the Scots camp in motion; and foretold, without the help of revelations, that the Lord had delivered his enemies into *his* hands. He gave orders immediately for an attack. In this battle it was easily observed, that nothing, in military actions, can supply the place of discipline and experience; and that, in the presence of real danger, where men are not accustomed to it, the fumes of enthusiasm presently dissipate, and lose their influence. The Scots, tho' double in number to the English, were soon put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter. The chief, if not only resistance was made by one regiment of Highlanders, that part of the army which was the least infected with enthusiasm. No victory could be more compleat than this obtained by Cromwel. About 3000 men were slain and 9000 taken prisoners. Cromwel pursued his advantage, and took possession of Edinburgh and Leith. The remnants of the Scots army fled to Sterling. The approach of the winter season, and an ague, which seized Cromwel, kept him from pushing the victory any farther.

CHAP. LX.

1650. Battle of Dunbar. 3d of September.

THE clergy made great lamentations, and told the Lord, that it was little to them to sacrifice their lives and estates, but to him it was a great loss to suffer his elect and chosen to be destroyed [r]. They published a declaration, containing the cause of their late misfortunes. These visitations they ascribed to the manifold provocations of the King's house, of which, they feared, he had not yet thoroughly repented; the secret intru-

[r] Sir Edward Walker.

CHAP. LX. 1650.

sion of malignants into the King's family and even into the camp; the leaving of a moſt malignant and profane guard of horſe, who, being ſent for to be purged, came two days before the defeat, and were allowed to fight in the army; the owning of the King's quarrel by many without ſubordination to religion and liberty; and the carnal ſelf-ſeeking of ſome, together with the neglect of family prayers in others.

CROMWEL having been ſo ſucceſsful in the war of the ſword, took up the pen againſt the Scots eccleſiaſtics. He wrote them ſome polemical letters, in which he maintained the chief points of the independent theology. He took care likewiſe to retort on them their favorite argument of providence, and aſked them whether the Lord had not declared againſt them. But the miniſters thought, that the ſame events, which to their enemies were judgements, to them were but trials; and they replied, that the Lord had only hid his face, for a time, from Jacob. But Cromwel inſiſted, that the appeal had been made to God in the moſt expreſs and ſolemn manner, and that in the fields of Dunbar an irrevocable deciſion had been awarded in favour of the Engliſh army[s].

THE

[s] This is the beſt of Cromwel's wretched compoſitions that remain, and we ſhall here extract a paſſage out of it. "You ſay you have not ſo learned "Chriſt as to hang the equity of your cauſe upon events. We could wiſh "that blindneſs had not been upon your eyes to all thoſe marvellous diſpen-"ſations, which God hath wrought lately in England. But did not you ſo-"lemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do ſo too? And ought not we and "you to think, with fear and trembling, of the hand of the great God, in "this mighty and ſtrange appearance of his, but can ſlightly call it an event? "Were not both your and our expectations renewed from time to time, while "we waited on God, to ſee which way he would manifeſt himſelf upon our "appeals? And ſhall we, after all theſe our prayers, faſtings, tears, expecta-"tions and ſolemn appeals, call theſe mere events? The Lord pity you. "Surely we fear, becauſe it has been a merciful and a gracious deliverance to "us.

"I be-

CHAP. LX. 1651.

THE defeat of the Scots was regarded by the King as a very fortunate event. The armies, which fought on both ſides, were almoſt equally his enemies; and the vanquiſhed were now obliged to give him ſome more authority, and apply to him for ſupport. The parliament was ſummoned to meet at St. Johnſtone. Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the Engagers were admitted into court and camp, on condition of doing public pennance, and expreſſing repentance for their late tranſgreſſions. Some Malignants alſo crept in under various pretences. The intended humiliation or pennance of the King was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed at Scone with great pomp and ſolemnity. But amidſt all this appearance of reſpect, Charles remained in the hands of the moſt rigid Covenanters: and tho' treated with civility and courteſy by Argyle, a man of parts and addreſs, he was little better than a priſoner, and was ſtill expoſed to all the rudeneſs and pedantry of the eccleſiaſtics. 1ſt of January.

THIS young prince was in a ſituation, which very ill ſuited his temper and diſpoſition. All thoſe good qualities which he poſſeſſed, his affability, his wit, his gaiety, his gentlemanly, diſengaged behavior, were here ſo many vices; and his love of eaſe, liberty, and pleaſure was regarded as the higheſt enormity. Tho' artful in the practice of courtly diſſimulation, the ſanctified ſtyle was utterly unknown to him; and he never could mould his deportment into that ſtarched grimace, which the covenanters required as the infallible mark of converſion. The duke of Buckingham was the only Engliſh courtier allowed to attend him; and by his ingenious talent of ridicule, he had rendered himſelf ex-

"I beſeech you in the bowels of Chriſt, ſearch after the mind of the "Lord in it towards you, and we ſhall help you by our prayers that you may "find it. For yet, if we know our heart at all, our bowels do in Chriſt "yearn after the godly in Scotland." Thurloe, Vol. I. p. 158.

CHAP. LX. 1651.

tremely agreeable to his master. While so many objects of derision surrounded them, it was difficult to be altogether insensible to the temptation, and wholly to suppress the laugh. Obliged to attend from morning to night at prayers and sermons, they betrayed evident symptoms of weariness or contempt. The clergy never could esteem the King sufficiently regenerated: And by continued exhortations, remonstrances, and reprimands, they still endeavoured to bring him to a juster sense of his spiritual duty.

THE King's passion for the fair could not altogether be restrained. He had once been observed using some familiarities with a young woman; and a committee of ministers was appointed to reprove him for a behaviour so unbecoming a covenanted monarch. The spokesman of the committee, one Douglass, began with a severe aspect, informed the King that great scandal had been given to the godly, enlarged on the heinous nature of sin, and concluded with exhorting his Majesty, whenever he was disposed to amuse himself, to be more careful, for the future, in shutting his windows. This delicacy, so unusual to the place and to the character of the man, was remarked by the King; and he never forgot the obligation.

THE King, shocked with all the indignities, and perhaps, still more tired with all the formalities, to which he was obliged to submit, made an attempt to regain his liberty. General Middleton, at the head of some royalists, being proscribed by the Covenanters, kept in the mountains, expecting some opportunity of serving his master. The King resolved to join this body. He secretly made his escape from Argyle, and fled towards the Highlands. Colonel Montgomery, with a troop of horse, was sent in pursuit of him. He overtook the King, and persuaded him to return. The royalists being

CHAP. LX. 1651.

ing too weak to support him, Charles was the more easily induced to comply. This incident procured him afterwards better treatment and more authority; the covenanters being afraid of driving him by their rigours, to some desperate resolution. Argyle renewed his courtship to the King, and the King, with equal dissimulation, pretended to repose great confidence in Argyle. He even went so far as to drop hints of his intention to marry that nobleman's daughter: But he had to do with a man too wise to be seduced by such gross artifices.

So soon as the season would permit, the Scots army was assembled under Hamilton and Lesley; and the King was allowed to join the camp. The forces of the western counties, notwithstanding the imminent danger, which threatened their country, were resolved not to unite their cause with that of an army, which admitted any engagers or malignants among them; and they kept in a body apart under Ker. They called themselves the *Protesters*; and their frantic clergy declaimed equally against the King and Cromwel. The other party were denominated *Resolutioners*; and these distinctions continued long after to divide and agitate the kingdom.

CHARLES encamped at the Torwood; and his generals resolved to conduct themselves by the same cautious maxims, which, so long as they were embraced, had been successful during the former campaign. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the whole north supplied him with provisions. Strong entrenchments defended his front; and it was in vain that Cromwel made every attempt to bring him to an engagement. After losing much time, the English general sent Lambert over the firth into Fife, with an intention of cutting off the provisions of the Scots army. Lambert fell upon Holborne and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scots, and put them to rout with great slaughter. Cromwel also

passed

CHAP. LX. 1651.

paſſed over with his whole army, and lying at the back of the King, made it impoſſible for him to keep his poſt any longer.

CHARLES, reduced to deſpair, embraced a reſolution worthy a young prince contending for empire. Having the way open to England, he reſolved immediately to march into that country, where he expected, that all his friends, and all thoſe diſcontented with the preſent government would flock to his ſtandard. He perſuaded the generals to enter into the ſame views; and with one conſent the army, to the number of 14,000 men, roſe from their camp, and advanced by great journies towards the ſouth.

CROMWEL was ſurprized at the movements of the Scots army. Wholly intent on offending his enemy, he had expoſed his friends to the moſt imminent danger, and ſaw the King with a large army marching into England, where his preſence, from the general hatred, which prevailed againſt the parliament, was capable of operating ſome great revolution. But if this conduct was an overſight in Cromwel, he quickly repaired it by his vigilance and activity. He diſpatched letters to the parliament, exhorting them not to be terrified at the approach of the Scots: He ſent orders every where for aſſembling forces to oppoſe the King: He ordered Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and infeſt their march: And he himſelf, leaving Monk with 7000 men to compleat the reduction of Scotland, followed the King with all the expedition poſſible.

CHARLES found himſelf diſappointed in his expectations of encreaſing his army. The Scots, terrified at the proſpect of ſo hazardous an enterprize, fell off in great numbers. The Engliſh preſbyterians, having no warning given them of the King's approach, were not pre-

prepared to join him. To the royaliſts, this meaſure was equally unexpected; and they were farther deterred from joining the Scots army by the orders which the committee of miniſters had iſſued, not to admit any, even in this deſperate extremity, who would not ſubſcribe the covenant. The earl of Derby, leaving the iſle of Man, where he had hitherto maintained his independance on the parliament, was employed in levying forces in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire; but was ſoon ſuppreſſed by a party of the parliamentary army. And the King, when he arrived at Worceſter, found, that his forces, extremely harraſſed by a haſty and fatiguing march, were not more numerous, than when he roſe from his camp in the Torwood. 1651.

SUCH is the influence of eſtabliſhed government, that the Commonwealth, tho' founded in uſurpation the moſt unjuſt and unpopular, had authority ſufficient to raiſe every where the militia of the counties; and theſe, united with the regular forces, bent all their efforts againſt the King. With an army of above 40,000 men, Cromwel fell upon Worceſter; and attacking it on all ſides, and meeting with little reſiſtance except from Duke Hamilton and general Middleton, broke in upon the diſordered royaliſts. The ſtreets of the city were ſtrowed with the dead. Hamilton, a nobleman of great bravery and honour, was mortally wounded; Maſſey wounded and taken priſoner; the King himſelf, having given many proofs of perſonal valour, was obliged to fly. The whole Scots army were either killed or taken priſoners. The country people, inflamed with national antipathy, inhumanly put to death the few who eſcaped from the field of battle. 3d of September. Battle of Worceſter.

THE King left Worceſter at ſix o'clock in the afternoon, and without halting, travelled about twenty-ſix miles, in company with fifty or ſixty of his friends. To provide for his ſecurity, he thought it beſt to ſeparate him- The King's eſcape.

CHAP. LX. 1651.

paſſed over with his whole army, and lying at the back of the King, made it impoſſible for him to keep his poſt any longer.

CHARLES, reduced to deſpair, embraced a reſolution worthy a young prince contending for empire. Having the way open to England, he reſolved immediately to march into that country, where he expected, that all his friends, and all thoſe diſcontented with the preſent government would flock to his ſtandard. He perſuaded the generals to enter into the ſame views; and with one conſent the army, to the number of 14,000 men, roſe from their camp, and advanced by great journies towards the ſouth.

CROMWEL was ſurprized at the movements of the Scots army. Wholly intent on offending his enemy, he had expoſed his friends to the moſt imminent danger, and ſaw the King with a large army marching into England, where his preſence, from the general hatred, which prevailed againſt the parliament, was capable of operating ſome great revolution. But if this conduct was an overſight in Cromwel, he quickly repaired it by his vigilance and activity. He diſpatched letters to the parliament, exhorting them not to be terrified at the approach of the Scots: He ſent orders every where for aſſembling forces to oppoſe the King: He ordered Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and infeſt their march: And he himſelf, leaving Monk with 7000 men to compleat the reduction of Scotland, followed the King with all the expedition poſſible.

CHARLES found himſelf diſappointed in his expectations of encreaſing his army. The Scots, terrified at the proſpect of ſo hazardous an enterprize, fell off in great numbers. The Engliſh preſbyterians, having no warning given them of the King's approach, were not pre-

prepared to join him. To the royaliſts, this meaſure was equally unexpected; and they were farther deterred from joining the Scots army by the orders which the committee of miniſters had iſſued, not to admit any, even in this deſperate extremity, who would not ſubſcribe the covenant. The earl of Derby, leaving the iſle of Man, where he had hitherto maintained his independance on the parliament, was employed in levying forces in Cheſhire and Lancaſhire; but was ſoon ſuppreſſed by a party of the parliamentary army. And the King, when he arrived at Worceſter, found, that his forces, extremely harraſſed by a haſty and fatiguing march, were not more numerous, than when he roſe from his camp in the Torwood. 1651.

SUCH is the influence of eſtabliſhed government, that the Commonwealth, tho' founded in uſurpation the moſt unjuſt and unpopular, had authority ſufficient to raiſe every where the militia of the counties; and theſe, united with the regular forces, bent all their efforts againſt the King. With an army of above 40,000 men, Cromwel fell upon Worceſter; and attacking it on all ſides, and meeting with little reſiſtance except from Duke Hamilton and general Middleton, broke in upon the diſordered royaliſts. The ſtreets of the city were ſtrowed with the dead. Hamilton, a nobleman of great bravery and honour, was mortally wounded; Maſſey wounded and taken priſoner; the King himſelf, having given many proofs of perſonal valour, was obliged to fly. The whole Scots army were either killed or taken priſoners. The country people, inflamed with national antipathy, inhumanly put to death the few who eſcaped from the field of battle. 3d of September. Battle of Worceſter.

THE King left Worceſter at ſix o'clock in the afternoon, and without halting, travelled about twenty-ſix miles, in company with fifty or ſixty of his friends. To provide for his ſecurity, he thought it beſt to ſeparate him- The King's eſcape.

CHAP. LX.

1651.

himself from his companions; and he left them without communicating his intentions to any of them. By the earl of Derby's directions, he went to Boscobel, a lone house in the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. To this man Charles entrusted himself. The man had dignity of sentiments much above his condition; and tho' death was denounced against all who concealed the King, and a great reward promised to any one who should betray him, he professed and maintained unshaken fidelity. He took the assistance of his four brothers, equally honourable with himself; and having cloathed the King in a garb like their own, they led him into the neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed upon such homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment, he mounted upon an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. He saw several soldiers pass by. All of them were intent in search of the King; and many expressed in his hearing their earnest wishes of seizing him. This tree was afterwards denominated the *Royal Oak*; and for many years was regarded by the whole neighbourhood with great veneration.

CHARLES was in the middle of the kingdom, and could neither stay in his retreat, nor stir a step from it, without the most imminent danger. Fears, hopes, and party-zeal interested multitudes to discover him; and even the smallest indiscretion of his friends might prove fatal. Having joined lord Wilmot, who was skulking in the neighborhood, they agreed to put themselves into the hands of colonel Lane, a zealous royalist, who lived at Bentley, not many miles distant. The King's feet were so hurt by walking about in heavy boots or countrymen's shoes which did not fit him, that he was obliged to mount on horseback; and he travelled in this situation

ſituation to Bentley, attended by the five Penderells, who had been ſo faithful to him. Lane formed a ſcheme for his journey to Briſtol, where, it was hoped, he would find a ſhip, in which he might tranſport himſelf. He had a near kinſwoman, Mrs. Norton, who lived within three miles of that city, and was with child, very near the time of her delivery. He obtained a paſs (for during thoſe times of confuſion this precaution was requiſite) for his ſiſter Jane Lane and a ſervant, to travel towards Briſtol, under pretence of viſiting and attending her relation. The King rode before the lady, and perſonated the ſervant: Wilmot, carrying a hawk on his hand, paſſed for a ſtranger, who had accidentally joined them. CHAP. LX. 1651.

WHEN they arrived at Norton's, Mrs. Lane pretended, that ſhe had brought along as her ſervant, a poor lad, a neighbouring farmer's ſon, who was ill of an ague; and ſhe begged a private room for him, where he might be quiet. Tho' Charles kept himſelf retired in this chamber, the butler, one Pope, ſoon knew him; and throwing himſelf on his knees, prayed for his Majeſty's life and preſervation. The King was alarmed, but made the butler promiſe that he would keep the ſecret from every mortal, even from his maſter; and he was faithful to his engagement.

No ſhip, it was found, would, for a month, ſet ſail from Briſtol, either for France or Spain; and the King was obliged to go elſewhere for a paſſage. He entruſted himſelf to colonel Windham of Dorſetſhire, an affectionate partizan of the royal family. The natural effect of the long civil wars and of the furious rage, to which all men were wrought up in their different factions, was, that every one's inclinations and affections were thoroughly known, and even the courage and fidelity of moſt men, by the variety of incidents, had been put to trial.

CHAP. LX. 1651.

The royaliſts too had, many of them, been obliged to contrive concealments in their houſes for themſelves, their friends, or moſt valuable effects; and the arts of eluding the enemy had been often practiſed. All theſe circumſtances proved favourable to the King in the preſent exigency. As he paſſed often thro' the hands of catholics, the *Prieſt's hole*, as they called it, the place, where they were obliged to conceal their perſecuted prieſts, was ſometimes employed for ſheltering their diſtreſſed Sovereign.

WINDHAM, before he received the King, aſked leave to entruſt the important ſecret to his mother, his wife, and four ſervants, on whoſe fidelity he could entirely depend. Of all theſe perſons, no one proved wanting either in honour or diſcretion. The venerable old matron, on the reception of her royal gueſt, expreſſed the utmoſt joy, that, having loſt, without regret, three ſons and one grand-child in defence of his father, ſhe was now reſerved, in her declining years, to be inſtrumental in the preſervation of himſelf. Windham told the King, that Sir Thomas, his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five ſons. "My "children," ſaid he, "we have hitherto ſeen ſerene "and quiet times under our three laſt ſovereigns: But "I muſt now warn you to prepare for clouds and "ſtorms. Factions ariſe on every ſide and threaten the "tranquillity of your native country. But whatever "happen, do you faithfully honour and obey your Prince, "and adhere to the Crown. I charge you never to for-"ſake the Crown, tho' it ſhould hang upon a buſh." "Theſe laſt words," added Windham, "made ſuch "impreſſions on all our breaſts, that the many af-"flictions of theſe ſad times could never efface their in-"delible characters." From innumerable inſtances it appears how deep rooted in the minds of the Engliſh gentry of that age was the principle of loyalty to their Sove-

Sovereign; that noble and generous principle, inferior only in excellence to the more enlarged and more inlightened affection towards a legal conſtitution. But during thoſe times of military uſurpation, theſe paſſions were the ſame. CHAP. LX. 1651.

THE King continued nineteen days in Windham's houſe; and all his friends in Britain and in every part of Europe, remained in the moſt anxious ſuſpence with regard to his fortune: No one could conjecture whether he was dead or alive; and the report of his death, being generally believed, happily relaxed the vigilant ſearch of his enemies. Trials were made to procure a veſſel for his eſcape; but he ſtill met with diſappointments. Having left Windham's houſe, he was obliged again to return to it. He paſſed thro' many other adventures; aſſumed different diſguiſes; in every ſtep was expoſed to imminent perils; and received daily proofs of uncorrupted fidelity and attachment. The ſagacity of a ſmith, who remarked, that his horſe's ſhoes had been made in the north, not in the weſt, as he pretended, once detected him; and he narrowly eſcaped. At Shoreham in Suſſex a veſſel was at laſt found, in which he embarked. He had been known to ſo many, that, if he had not ſet ſail in that critical moment, it had been impoſſible for him to eſcape. After one and forty days concealment, he arrived ſafely at Feſchamp in Normandy. No leſs than forty men and women had at different times been privy to his eſcape [t].

THE battle of Worceſter afforded Cromwel what he called his *crowning mercy*. So elated was he, that he intended to have knighted in the field two of his generals, Lambert and Fleetwood; but was diſſwaded by his friends from exerting this act of regal authority. His power and ambition were too great to brook ſubjection

[t] Heathe's Chronicle, p. 301.

to

CHAP. LX. 1651.

to the empty name of a republic, which ſtood chiefly by his influence and was ſupported by his victories. How early he entertained thoughts of taking into his hand the reins of government is uncertain. We are only aſſured, that he now diſcovered to his intimate friends theſe aſpiring views; and even expreſſed a deſire of aſſuming the rank of King, which he had contributed, with ſuch ſeeming zeal, to aboliſh [u].

The Commonwealth.

THE little popularity and credit, acquired by the republicans, farther ſtimulated the ambition of this enterprizing politician. Theſe men had not that large thought, nor thoſe comprehenſive views, which might qualify them for acting the part of legiſlators: Selfiſh aims and bigotry chiefly engroſſed their attention. They carried their rigid auſterity ſo far as to enact laws, declaring fornication, after the firſt act, to be felony, without benefit of clergy [w]. They made ſmall progreſs in that important work, which they profeſſed to have ſo much at heart, the ſettling a new model of repreſentation, and fixing a plan of government. The nation began to apprehend, that they intended to eſtabliſh themſelves as a perpetual legiſlature, and to confine the whole power to 60 or 70 perſons, who called themſelves the parliament of the Commonwealth of England. And while they pretended to beſtow new liberties upon the nation, they found themſelves obliged to infringe even the moſt valuable of thoſe, which, thro' time immemorial, had been tranſmitted from their anceſtors. Not daring to entruſt the trials of treaſon to juries, who, being choſen indifferently from among the people, would have been little favourable to the Commonwealth, and would have formed their verdict upon the antient laws, they eluded that noble inſtitution, by which the government of this iſland has ever been ſo much diſtinguiſhed.

[u] Whitlocke, p. 523. [w] Scobel, p. 121.

They

They had ſeen evidently in the trial of Lilburn what they could expect from juries. This man, the moſt turbulent, but the moſt upright and courageous of humankind, was tried for a tranſgreſſion of the new ſtatute of treaſons: But tho' he was plainly guilty, he was acquitted, to the infinite joy of the people. Weſtminſter-hall, nay the whole city, rang with ſhouts and acclamations. Never did any eſtabliſhed power receive ſo ſtrong a declaration of its uſurpation and invalidity; and from no other inſtitution, beſides the admirable one of juries, could be expected this magnanimous effort.

THAT they might not for the future be expoſed to affronts, which ſo much leſſened their authority, the parliament erected a high court of juſtice, who were to receive indictments from the council of ſtate. This court was compoſed entirely of men, devoted to the ruling party, without name or character, determined to ſacrifice every thing to their own ſafety or ambition. Colonel Euſebius Andrews, and colonel Walter Slingſby were tried by this court for conſpiracies, and condemned to death. They were royaliſts, and refuſed to plead before ſo illegal a juriſdiction. Love, Gibbons, and other preſbyterians, having entered into a plot againſt the republic, were alſo tried and executed. The Earl of Derby, Sir Timothy Fetherſtone, Bemboe, being taken priſoners after the battle of Worceſter, were put to death by ſentence of a court martial: A method of proceeding declared unlawful by that very petition of right, for which a former parliament had ſo ſtrenuouſly contended, and which, after great efforts, they had extorted from the King.

EXCEPTING their principles of toleration, the maxims, by which the republicans regulated eccleſiaſtical affairs, no more prognoſticated any durable ſettlement, than thoſe by which they conducted their civil concerns. The preſbyterian model of congregations, claſſes, and aſ-

CHAP. LX. 1651.

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CHAP. LX. 1651.

semblies was not allowed to be finished: It seemed even the intention of many leaders in the parliament to admit of no established church, and to leave every one, without any guidance of the magistrate, to embrace whatever sect and to support whatever clergy were most agreeable to him. It was not perceived, that by this policy the enthusiastic spirit must of necessity, from a concurrence of the emulation and interested views of the ecclesiastics, be raised to such a height as to elude all the tyes of civil and moral duty.

THE parliament went so far as to make some approaches, in one province, to their independant model. Almost all the clergy of Wales being ejected as malignants, itinerant preachers with a small salary were settled, not above four or five in each county; and these, being furnished with horses at the public charge, hurried from place to place, and carried, as they expressed themselves, the glad tidings of the gospel [x]. They were all of them men of the lowest birth and education, who had deserted mechanical trades, in order to follow this new profession: And in this particular, as well as in their wandering life, they pretended to be more truly apostolical.

THE republicans, both by the turn of their disposition, and by the nature of the instruments, which they employed, were better qualified for acts of force and vigour than for the slow and deliberate work of legislation. Notwithstanding the late wars and bloodshed and the present factions, the power of England had never, in any period, been so formidable to the neighbouring kingdoms as at this time it appeared in the hands of the Commonwealth. A numerous army served equally to retain every one, in implicit subjection to established authority, and to strike a terror into foreign nations. The

[x] Dr. John Walker's attempt, p. 147, & seq.

power

power of peace and war was lodged in the ſame hands with that of impoſing taxes; and no difference of views, among the ſeveral members of the legiſlature, could any longer be apprehended. The preſent impoſitions, tho' much ſuperior to what had ever formerly been experienced, were in reality very moderate, and what a nation, ſo opulent, could eaſily bear. The military genius of the people, by the civil conteſts, had been rouzed from its former lethargy; and excellent officers were formed in every branch of ſervice. The confuſion, into which all things had been thrown, had given opportunity to men of low ſtations to break thro' their obſcurity, and to raiſe themſelves by their courage to commands, which they were well qualified to exerciſe, but to which their birth could never have entitled them. And while ſo great power was lodged in ſuch active hands, no wonder the republic was ſucceſsful in all its enterprizes.

CHAP. LX. 1651.

BLAKE, a man of heroic courage and a generous diſpoſition, the ſame perſon who had defended Lyme and Taunton with ſuch unſhaken obſtinacy againſt the King, was made an admiral; and tho' he had hitherto been accuſtomed only to land ſervice, into which too he had not entered till paſt fifty years of age, he ſoon raiſed the naval glory of the nation to a higher pitch than it had ever attained in any former period. A fleet was committed to him, and he received orders to purſue Prince Rupert, to whom the King had given the command of that ſquadron, which had deſerted to him. Rupert took ſhelter in Kinſale; and eſcaping thence, fled towards the coaſt of Portugal. Blake purſued, and chaced him into the Tagus, where he intended to attack that Prince. But the King of Portugal, moved by the favour, which, throughout all Europe, attended the royal cauſe, refuſed Blake admittance, and aided Prince Rupert in making his eſcape. To be revenged of this

CHAP. LX.

1651.

partiality, the Engliſh admiral made prize of twenty Portugueſe ſhips richly laden, and threatened ſtill farther vengeance. The King of Portugal, dreading ſo dangerous a foe to his new acquired dominion, and ſenſible of the unequal conteſt, in which he was engaged, made all poſſible ſubmiſſions to the haughty republic, and was at laſt admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England. Prince Rupert, having loſt a great part of his ſquadron on the coaſt of Spain, made ſail towards the Weſt-Indies. His brother, Prince Maurice, was there ſhip-wrecked in a hurricane. Every where, this ſquadron ſubſiſted by privateering, ſometimes on Engliſh, ſometimes on Spaniſh veſſels. And Rupert at laſt returned to France, where he diſpoſed of the remnants of his fleet, together with all his prizes.

ALL the ſettlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the puritans, adhered to the royal party, even after the ſettlement of the republic; and Sir George Ayſcue was ſent with a ſquadron to reduce them to obedience. Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia were ſoon ſubdued. Barbadoes, commanded by Lord Willoughby of Parham, made ſome reſiſtance; but was at laſt obliged to ſubmit.

WITH equal eaſe were Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, and the Iſle of Man brought under ſubjection to the republic; and the ſea, which had been much infeſted by privateers from theſe iſlands, was rendered entirely ſafe to the Engliſh commerce. The Counteſs of Derby defended the Iſle of Man; and with great reluctance yielded to the neceſſity of ſurrendering to the enemy. This lady, a daughter of the illuſtrious houſe of Trimoüille in France, had, during the civil wars, diſplayed a manly courage by her obſtinate defence of Latham-Houſe againſt the parliamentary forces; and ſhe retained the glory of being the laſt perſon in the three kingdoms and in all their dependant

dependant dominions, who ſubmitted to the victorious Commonwealth [y]. CHAP. LX.

IRELAND and Scotland were now entirely ſubjected and reduced to tranquillity. Ireton, the new deputy of Ireland, commanding a numerous army of 30,000 men, proſecuted the work of ſubduing the revolted Iriſh; and he defeated them in many rencounters, which, tho' in themſelves of no great moment, proved fatal to their declining cauſe. He puniſhed without mercy all the priſoners who had any hand in the maſſacres. Sir Phelim Oneale, among the reſt, was, ſome time afterwards, brought to the gibbet, and ſuffered an ignominious death, which he had ſo well merited by his inhuman cruelties. Limeric, a conſiderable town, ſtill remained in the hands of the Iriſh; and Ireton, after a vigorous ſiege, made himſelf maſter of it. He was here infected with the plague, and ſhortly after died; a very memorable perſonage, much celebrated for his vigilance, induſtry, capacity, even for the ſtrict execution of juſtice in that unlimited command, which he poſſeſſed in Ireland. He was obſerved to be inflexible in all his purpoſes; and it was believed by many, that he was ani- 1651.

[y] When the Earl of Derby was alive, he had been ſummoned by Ireton to ſurrender the Iſle of Man; and he return'd this ſpirited and memorable anſwer. "I receiv'd your letter with indignation, and with ſcorn return you "this anſwer; that I cannot but wonder whence you ſhould gather any "hopes, that I ſhould prove like you, treacherous to my ſovereign; ſince "you cannot be ignorant of my former actings in his late Majeſty's ſervice, "from which principles of loyalty I am no whit departed. I ſcorn your "proffers; I diſdain your favour; I abhor your treaſon; and am ſo far from "delivering up this iſland to your advantage, that I ſhall keep it to the ut-"moſt of my power to your deſtruction. Take this for your final anſwer, "and forbear any farther ſollicitations: for if you trouble me with any more "meſſages of this nature, I will burn the paper and hang up the bearer. "This is the immutable reſolution, and ſhall be the undoubted practice of "him, who accounts it his chiefeſt glory to be his Majeſty's moſt loyal and "obedient ſubject,

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CHAP. LX. 1651.

partiality, the Engliſh admiral made prize of twenty Portugueſe ſhips richly laden, and threatened ſtill farther vengeance. The King of Portugal, dreading ſo dangerous a foe to his new acquired dominion, and ſenſible of the unequal conteſt, in which he was engaged, made all poſſible ſubmiſſions to the haughty republic, and was at laſt admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England. Prince Rupert, having loſt a great part of his ſquadron on the coaſt of Spain, made ſail towards the Weſt-Indies. His brother, Prince Maurice, was there ſhip-wrecked in a hurricane. Every where, this ſquadron ſubſiſted by privateering, ſometimes on Engliſh, ſometimes on Spaniſh veſſels. And Rupert at laſt returned to France, where he diſpoſed of the remnants of his fleet, together with all his prizes.

ALL the ſettlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the puritans, adhered to the royal party, even after the ſettlement of the republic; and Sir George Ayſcue was ſent with a ſquadron to reduce them to obedience. Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia were ſoon ſubdued. Barbadoes, commanded by Lord Willoughby of Parham, made ſome reſiſtance; but was at laſt obliged to ſubmit.

WITH equal eaſe were Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, and the Iſle of Man brought under ſubjection to the republic; and the ſea, which had been much infeſted by privateers from theſe iſlands, was rendered entirely ſafe to the Engliſh commerce. The Counteſs of Derby defended the Iſle of Man; and with great reluctance yielded to the neceſſity of ſurrendering to the enemy. This lady, a daughter of the illuſtrious houſe of Trimoüille in France, had, during the civil wars, diſplayed a manly courage by her obſtinate defence of Latham-Houſe againſt the parliamentary forces; and ſhe retained the glory of being the laſt perſon in the three kingdoms and in all their dependant

dependant dominions, who ſubmitted to the victorious Commonwealth [y]. CHAP. LX.

1651.

IRELAND and Scotland were now entirely ſubjected and reduced to tranquillity. Ireton, the new deputy of Ireland, commanding a numerous army of 30,000 men, proſecuted the work of ſubduing the revolted Iriſh; and he defeated them in many rencounters, which, tho' in themſelves of no great moment, proved fatal to their declining cauſe. He puniſhed without mercy all the priſoners who had any hand in the maſſacres. Sir Phelim Oneale, among the reſt, was, ſome time afterwards, brought to the gibbet, and ſuffered an ignominious death, which he had ſo well merited by his inhuman cruelties. Limeric, a conſiderable town, ſtill remained in the hands of the Iriſh; and Ireton, after a vigorous ſiege, made himſelf maſter of it. He was here infected with the plague, and ſhortly after died; a very memorable perſonage, much celebrated for his vigilance, induſtry, capacity, even for the ſtrict execution of juſtice in that unlimited command, which he poſſeſſed in Ireland. He was obſerved to be inflexible in all his purpoſes; and it was believed by many, that he was ani-

[y] When the Earl of Derby was alive, he had been ſummoned by Ireton to ſurrender the Iſle of Man; and he return'd this ſpirited and memorable anſwer. "I receiv'd your letter with indignation, and with ſcorn return you "this anſwer; that I cannot but wonder whence you ſhould gather any "hopes, that I ſhould prove like you, treacherous to my ſovereign; ſince "you cannot be ignorant of my former actings in his late Majeſty's ſervice, "from which principles of loyalty I am no whit departed. I ſcorn your "proffers; I diſdain your favour; I abhor your treaſon; and am ſo far from "delivering up this iſland to your advantage, that I ſhall keep it to the ut-"moſt of my power to your deſtruction. Take this for your final anſwer, "and forbear any farther ſollicitations: for if you trouble me with any more "meſſages of this nature, I will burn the paper and hang up the bearer. "This is the immutable reſolution, and ſhall be the undoubted practice of "him, who accounts it his chiefeſt glory to be his Majeſty's moſt loyal and "obedient ſubject,

DERBY."

CHAP. LX. 1651.

mated with a ſincere and paſſionate love for liberty, and never could have been induced, by any motive, to ſubmit to the ſmalleſt appearance of regal government. Cromwel appeared to be much affected by his death; and the Republicans, who repoſed great confidence in him, were inconſoleable. To ſhow their regard for his merit and ſervices, they beſtowed an eſtate of two thouſand pounds a year on his family, and honoured him with a magnificent funeral at the public charge. Tho' the eſtabliſhed government was but the mere ſhadow of a Commonwealth, yet was it beginning by proper arts to encourage that public ſpirit, which no other ſpecies of civil polity is ever able fully to inſpire.

THE command of the army in Ireland devolved on lieutenant-general Ludlow. The civil government of the iſland was entruſted to commiſſioners. Ludlow continued to puſh the advantages againſt the Iriſh, and every where obtained an eaſy victory. That unhappy people, diſguſted with the King on account of thoſe violent declarations againſt them and their religion, which had been extorted by the Scots, applied to the King of Spain, to the Duke of Lorraine; and found aſſiſtance no where. Clanricarde, unable to reſiſt the prevailing power, made ſubmiſſions to the parliament, and retired into England, where he ſoon after died. He was a ſteady catholic; but a man much reſpected by all parties.

THE ſucceſſes, which attended Monk in Scotland, were no leſs deciſive. That able general laid ſiege to Stirling caſtle; and though it was well provided for defence, it was ſoon ſurrendered to him. He there became maſter of all the records of the kingdom; and he ſent them to England. The Earl of Leven, the Earl of Crawford, Lord Ogilvy, and other noblemen, having met near Perth, in order to concert means for raiſing a new army, were ſuddenly ſet upon by Colonel Alured,

CHAP. LX. 1651.

Alured, and moſt of them taken priſoners. Sir Philip Muſgrave, with ſome Scots, being engaged at Dumfries in a like enterprize, met with the ſame fate. Dundee was a town well fortified, ſupplied with a good garriſon under Lumiſden, and full of all the rich furniture, the plate and money of the kingdom, which had been ſent thither as to a place of ſafety. Monk appeared before it; and having made a breach, gave a general aſſault. He carried the town; and following the example and inſtructions of Cromwel, put the whole inhabitants to the ſword, in order to ſtrike a general terror into the kingdom. Warned by this example, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Inverneſs, and other towns and forts, of their own accord, yielded to the enemy. Argyle made his ſubmiſſions to the Engliſh Commonwealth; and excepting a few royaliſts, who remained ſome time in the mountains, under the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Balcarras, and General Middleton, that kingdom, which had hitherto, through all ages, by means of its ſituation, poverty, and valour, maintained its independance, was reduced to a total ſubjection.

THE Engliſh parliament ſent Sir Harry Vane, St. John, and other commiſſioners to ſettle Scotland. Theſe men, who poſſeſſed little of the real ſpirit of liberty, knew how to maintain all the appearances of it; and they required the voluntary conſent of all the counties and towns of this conquered kingdom, before they would unite them into the ſame Commonwealth with England. The clergy proteſted; becauſe, they ſaid, this incorporation would draw along with it a ſubordination of the church to the ſtate in the things of Chriſt [z]. Engliſh judges, joined to ſome Scots, were appointed to determine all cauſes; juſtice was ſtrictly executed; order and peace maintained; and the Scots being freed from the tyranny of the eccleſiaſtics, were not much diſſatisfied

[z] Whitlocke, p. 496.

CHAP. LX.

1651. with the present government [a]. The prudent conduct of Monk, a man who possessed a good capacity for the arts both of peace and war, served much to reconcile the minds of men, and to allay their prejudices.

1652. Dutch war. By the total reduction and pacification of the British dominions, the parliament had leisure to look abroad, and to exert their vigour in foreign enterprizes. The Dutch were the first who felt the weight of their arms.

During the life of Frederic Hnery, Prince of Orange, the states had maintained an exact neutrality in the civil wars of England, and had never interposed, except by their good offices, between the contending parties. When William, who had married an English princess, succeeded to his father's commands and authority [b], the States, both before and after the execution of the late King, were accused of taking steps more favourable to

a It had been an usual policy of the presbyterian ecclesiastics to settle a chaplain in the great families, who acted as a spy upon his master, and gave them intelligence of the most private transactions and discourses of the family. A signal instance of priestly tyranny, and the subjection of the nobility! They even obliged the servants to give intelligence against their masters. Whitlocke, p. 502. The same author, p. 512. tells the following story. The synod meeting at Perth, and citing the ministers and people, who had expressed a dislike of *their heavenly government*, the men being out of the way, their wives resolved to answer for them. And on the day of appearance, 120 women with good clubs in their hands came and besieged the church, where the reverend ministers sat. They sent one of their number to treat with the females, and he threatening excommunication, they basted him for his labour, kept him prisoner, and sent a party of 60, who routed the rest of the clergy, bruised their bodies sorely, took all their baggage and 12 horses. One of the ministers, after a mile's-running, taking all creatures for his foes, meeting with a soldier fell on his knees, who knowing nothing of the matter asked the blackcoat what he meant. The female conquerors, having laid hold on the synod clerk, beat him till he forswore his office. Thirteen ministers rallied about four miles from the place, and voted that this village should never more have a synod in it, but be accursed; and that though in the years 1638 and 39, the godly women were cried up for stoning the bishops, yet now the whole sex should be esteemed wicked.

b 1647.

the

the royal cauſe, and of betraying a great prejudice againſt the cauſe of the parliament. It was long before the envoy of the Engliſh Commonwealth could obtain an audience of the States General. The murderers of Doriſlaus were not purſued with ſuch vigour as the parliament expected. And much regard had been payed the King, and many good offices performed to him, both by the public, and by men of all ranks, in the United Provinces. 1652.

AFTER the death of William, Prince of Orange [c], which was attended with the depreſſion of his party and the triumph of the Republicans, the parliament thought, that the time was now come of cementing a cloſer confederacy with the United Provinces. St. John, Lord Chief Juſtice, who was ſent over to the Hague, had entertained the idea of forming a kind of coalition between the two Republics, which would have rendered their intereſts totally inſeparable; but fearing that ſo extraordinary a project would not be reliſhed, he contented himſelf with dropping ſome hints of it, and openly went no farther than to propoſe a ſtrict defenſive alliance between England and the States, ſuch as has now, for near ſeventy years, taken place between theſe friendly powers [d]. But the States, who were unwilling to form a nearer confederacy with a government, whoſe meaſures were ſo obnoxious, and whoſe ſituation ſeemed ſo precarious, offered only to renew the former alliances with England. And the haughty St. John, diſguſted with this refuſal, as well as incenſed at many affronts, which had been offered him with impunity, by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, and indeed by the populace in general, returned into England, and endeavoured to excite a quarrel between the two republics.

[c] In October 17, 1650. [d] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 182.

THE

CHAP. LX. 1652.

THE movements of great ſtates are often directed by as ſlender ſprings as thoſe of individuals. Though war with ſo conſiderable a naval power as the Dutch, who were in peace with all their other neighbours, might ſeem dangerous to the yet unſettled Commonwealth, there were ſeveral motives, which at this time induced the Engliſh parliament to embrace hoſtile meaſures. Many of the members thought, that a foreign war would ſerve as a pretence for continuing the ſame parliament, and delaying the new model of a repreſentative, with which the nation had ſo long been flattered. Others hoped, that the war would furniſh a reaſon for maintaining, ſome time longer, that numerous mercenary army, which was ſo much complained of [e]. On the other hand, ſome, who dreaded the encreaſing power of Cromwel, expected, that the great expence of naval armaments would prove a motive for diminiſhing the military eſtabliſhment. To divert the attention of the public from domeſtic quarrels towards foreign tranſactions, ſeemed in the preſent diſpoſition of men's minds to be good policy. The ſuperior power of the Engliſh Commonwealth, together with the advantages of ſituation, promiſed it ſucceſs; and the parliamentary leaders hoped to gain many rich prizes from the Dutch, to diſtreſs and ſink their flouriſhing commerce, and by victories to throw a luſtre on their eſtabliſhment, which was ſo new and unpopular. All theſe views, enforced by the violent ſpirit of St. John, who had a great influence over Cromwel, determined the parliament to change the propoſed alliance into a furious war againſt the United Provinces.

To cover theſe hoſtile intentions, the parliament, under pretence of providing for the intereſts of commerce, embraced ſuch meaſures as, they knew, would

[e] We are told in the life of Sir Harry Vane, that that famous Republican oppoſed the Dutch war, and that it was the military gentlemen chiefly who ſupported that meaſure.

give diſguſt to the States. They framed the famous act of navigation; which prohibited all nations to import into England in their bottoms any commodity, which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country. By this law, though the terms, in which it was conceived, were general, the Dutch were principally hurt; becauſe their country produces few commodities, and they ſubſiſt chiefly by being the general carriers and factors of the world. Letters of reprizal were granted to ſeveral merchants, who complained of injuries, which, as they pretended, they had received from the States; and above eighty Dutch ſhips fell into their hands, and were made prize of. The cruelties practiſed on the Engliſh at Amboyna, which were certainly enormous, but which ſeemed to be buried in oblivion by a thirty years ſilence, were again made the grounds of complaint. And the allowing the murderers of Doriſlaus to eſcape, and the conniving at the inſults to which St. John had been expoſed, were repreſented as ſymptoms of an unfriendly, if not a hoſtile, diſpoſition in the States.

CHAP. LX. 1652.

THE States, alarmed at all theſe ſteps, ſent over orders to their ambaſſadors to endeavour the renewal of the treaty of alliance, which had been broke off by the abrupt departure of St. John. Not to be unprepared, they equipped a fleet of a hundred and fifty ſail, and took care, by their miniſters at London, to inform the council of ſtate of that armament. This intelligence, inſtead of ſtriking terror into the Engliſh republic, was conſidered as a menace, and farther confirmed the parliament in their hoſtile reſolutions. The minds of men, in both ſtates, were every day more and more irritated againſt each other; and it was not long before theſe malignant humours broke forth into action.

TROMP,

CHAP. LX.

1652. TROMP, an admiral of great renown, received from the States the command of a fleet of forty-two ſail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation againſt the privateers of the Engliſh. He was forced by ſtreſs of weather, as he alledged, to take ſhelter in the road of Dover, where he met with Blake, who commanded an Engliſh fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggreſſor in the action, which enſued between theſe two admirals, both of them men of ſuch prompt and fiery diſpoſitions, it is not eaſy to determine; ſince each of them ſent to his own ſtate a relation totally oppoſite in all its circumſtances to that of the other, and yet ſupported by the teſtimony of every captain in his fleet. Blake pretended, that, having given a ſignal to the Dutch admiral to ſtrike, Tromp, inſtead of complying, fired a broad-ſide at him. Tromp aſſerted, that he was preparing to ſtrike, and that the Engliſh admiral, nevertheleſs, began hoſtilities. It is certain, that the admiralty of Holland, who are diſtinct from the council of ſtate, had given Tromp no orders to ſtrike, but had left him to his own diſcretion with regard to that vain, but much conteſted ceremonial. They ſeemed willing to introduce the claim of an equality with the new Commonwealth, and to interpret the former reſpect, which they had ever payed the Engliſh flag, as a deference due only to the Monarchy. This circumſtance forms a ſtrong preſumption againſt the narrative of the Dutch admiral. The whole Orange party, it muſt be remarked, to which Tromp was ſuſpected to adhere, were deſirous of a war with England.

BLAKE, though his ſquadron conſiſted only of fifteen veſſels, re-inforced, after the battle began, by eight under captain Bourne, maintained the fight with great bravery for five hours, and ſunk one ſhip of the enemy, and took another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired towards the coaſt of Holland.

The populace of London were enraged, and would have insulted the Dutch ambassadors, who lived at Chelsea, had not the council of state sent guards to protect them. 1652.

WHEN the States heard of this action, of which the fatal consequences were easily foreseen, they were in the utmost consternation. They immediately dispatched Paw, pensionary of Holland, as their ambassador extraordinary to London, and ordered him to lay before the parliament the narrative which Tromp had sent of the late rencounter. They entreated them, by all the bands of their common religion, and common liberties, not to precipitate themselves into hostile measures, but to appoint commissioners, who should examine every circumstance of the action, and clear up the truth, which lay in obscurity. And they pretended, that they had given no orders to their admiral to offer any violence to the English, but would severely punish him, if they found upon enquiry, that he had been guilty of an action, which they so much disapproved. The imperious parliament would hearken to none of these reasons or remonstrances. Elated with the numerous successes, which they had obtained over their domestic enemies, they thought, that every thing must yield to their fortunate arms; and they gladly seized the opportunity, which they sought, of making war upon the States. They demanded, that, without any farther delay or enquiry, reparation should be made for all the damages, which the English had sustained. And when this demand was not complied with, they dispatched orders for commencing war against the United Provinces.

BLAKE sailed northwards with a numerous fleet, and fell upon the herring busses, which were escorted by twelve men of war. All these he either took or dispersed. Tromp followed him with a fleet of above a hundred sail. When these two admirals were within sight of

CHAP. LX. 1652.

of each other, and preparing for battle, a furious ſtorm attacked them. Blake took ſhelter in the Engliſh harbours. The Dutch fleet was diſperſed and received great damage.

16th of Auguſt.

SIR GEORGE AYSCUE, though he commanded only forty ſhips according to the Engliſh accounts, engaged near Plymouth the famous de Ruiter, who had under him fifty ſhips of war, with thirty merchant-men. The Dutch ſhips were indeed of inferior force to the Engliſh. De Ruiter, the only admiral in Europe, who has attained a renown equal to that of the greateſt general, defended himſelf ſo well, that Ayſcue gained no advantage over him. Night parted them in the greateſt heat of the action. De Ruiter next day ſailed off with his convoy. The Engliſh had been ſo ſhattered in the fight, that they were not able to purſue.

28th of October.

NEAR the coaſt of Kent, Blake, ſeconded by Bourne and Pen, met the Dutch fleet, nearly equal in number, commanded by de Witte and de Ruiter. A battle was fought much to the diſadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear-admiral was boarded and taken. Two other veſſels were ſunk, and one blown up. The Dutch fleet next day made ſail towards Holland.

THE Engliſh were not ſo ſucceſsful in the Mediterranean. Van Galen with much ſuperior force attacked captain Badily, and defeated him. He bought, however, his victory with the loſs of his life.

29th of November.

SEA-FIGHTS are ſeldom ſo deciſive as to diſable the vanquiſhed from making head in a little time againſt the victors. Tromp, ſeconded by de Ruiter, met near the Goodwins, with Blake, whoſe fleet was inferior to the Dutch, but who was reſolved not to decline the combat. A furious battle commenced, where the admirals on both ſides, as well as the inferior officers and ſeamen, exerted extraordinary bravery. In this action, the

the Dutch had the advantage. Blake himſelf was wounded. The Garland and Bonaventure were taken. Two ſhips were burned, and one ſunk; and night came very opportunely to ſave the Engliſh fleet. After this victory, Tromp in a bravado fixed a broom to his main-maſt; as if he were reſolved to ſweep the ſea entirely of all Engliſh veſſels. CHAP. LX. 1652.

GREAT preparations were made in England, in order to wipe off this diſgrace. A gallant fleet of eighty ſail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and Dean under him, together with Monk, who had been ſent for from Scotland. When the Engliſh lay off Portland, they deſcried near break of day the Dutch fleet of ſeventy-ſix veſſels, ſailing up the channel, along with a convoy of 300 merchant-men, who had received orders to wait at the iſle of Rhé, till the fleet ſhould arrive to eſcorte them. Tromp and de Ruiter commanded the Dutch. This battle was the moſt furious which had yet been fought, between theſe warlike and rival nations. Three days was the battle continued with the utmoſt rage and obſtinacy: and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquiſhed. The Dutch admiral made a ſkilful retreat, and ſaved all the merchant ſhips, except thirty. He loſt however eleven ſhips of war, had 2000 men ſlain, and near 1500 taken priſoners. The Engliſh, though many of their ſhips were extremely ſhattered, had but one ſunk. Their ſlain were not much inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy. 1653. 18th of February.

ALL theſe ſucceſſes of the Engliſh were chiefly owing to the ſuperior ſize of their veſſels; an advantage which all the ſkill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compenſate By means of ſhip-money, an impoſition, which had been ſo much complained of, and in ſome reſpects with reaſon, the late King had put the navy into a ſituation,

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CHAP. LX.

1653.

a ſituation, which it had never attained in any former reign; and he ventured to build ſhips of a ſize, which was then unuſual. But the misfortunes, which the Dutch met with in battle, were ſmall in compariſon of thoſe, which their trade ſuſtained from the Engliſh. Their whole commerce by the Channel was cut off: Even that to the Baltic was much infeſted by the Engliſh privateers. Their fiſheries were totally ſuſpended. A great number of their ſhips, above 1600, had fallen into the enemies hands. And all this diſtreſs they ſuffered, not for any national intereſt or neceſſity; but from vain points of honour and perſonal reſentments, of which it was difficult to give a ſatisfactory account to the public. They reſolved therefore to gratify the pride of the parliament, and to make ſome advances towards a peace. Their reception, however, was not favourable; and it was not without pleaſure, that they learned the diſſolution of that haughty aſſembly by the violence of Cromwel; an event from which they expected a more proſperous turn to their affairs.

Diſſolution of the parliament.

The zealous republicans in the parliament had not been the chief or firſt promoters of the war; but when it was once entered upon, they endeavoured to draw from it every poſſible advantage. On all occaſions, they ſet up the fleet in oppoſition to the army, and celebrated the glory and ſucceſſes of their naval armaments. They inſiſted on the intolerable expence to which the nation was ſubjected, and urged the neceſſity of diminiſhing it by a reduction of their land forces. They had ordered ſome regiments to ſerve on board the fleet in the quality of marines: And Cromwel, by the whole train of their proceedings, evidently ſaw, that they had entertained a jealouſy of his power and ambition, and were reſolved to bring him to a ſubordination under their authority. Without ſcruple or delay he reſolved to prevent them.

On

CHAP. LX. 1653.

ON such firm foundations was built the credit of this extraordinary man, that, though a great master of fraud and dissimulation, he judged it superfluous to employ any disguise in conducting that bold enterprize. He summoned a general council of officers; and immediately found, that they were disposed to receive whatever impressions he was pleased to give them. Most of them were his creatures, had owed their advancement to his favour, and relied entirely upon him for their future preferment. The breach being already made between the military and civil powers, when the late King was seized at Holmby; the general officers regarded the parliament as at once their creature and their rival; and thought that they themselves were entitled to share among them those offices and riches, of which its members had so long kept possession. Harrison, Rich, Overton, and a few others, who retained some principle, were guided by notions so extravagant, that they were easily deluded into measures the most violent and most criminal. And the whole army had already been guilty of such illegal and atrocious actions, that they could entertain no farther scruples with regard to any enterprize, which might serve their selfish or fanatical purposes.

IN the council of officers it was presently voted to frame a remonstrance to the parliament. After complaining of the arrears, which were due to the army, they there desired the parliament to remember how many years they had sat, and what professions they had formerly made of their intentions to new model the representative, and establish successive parliaments, who might bear that burthen of national affairs, from which they themselves would gladly, after so much danger and fatigue, be at last relieved. They confessed, that the parliament had atchieved great enterprizes, and had surmounted mighty difficulties; yet was it an injury, they said, to the rest of the nation to be excluded from bear-

CHAP. LX. 1653.

ing any part in the ſervice of their country. It was now full time for them to give place to others; and they therefore deſired them, after ſettling a council, who might execute the laws during the interval, to ſummon a new parliament, and eſtabliſh that free and equal government, which they had ſo long promiſed to the people.

THE parliament took this remonſtrance in very ill part, and made a ſharp reply to the council of officers. The officers inſiſted on their advice; and by mutual altercation and oppoſition, the breach became ſtill wider between the army and the Commonwealth. Cromwel, finding matters ripe for his purpoſe, called a council of officers, in order to come to a determination with regard to the public ſettlement. As he had here many friends, ſo had he alſo ſome opponents. Harriſon having aſſured the council, that the General ſought only to pave the way for the government of Jeſus and his ſaints, Major Streater briſkly replied, that Jeſus ought then to come quickly: For if he delayed it till after Chriſtmas, he would come too late; he would find his place occupied While the officers were in debate, Colonel Ingoldſby informs Cromwel, that the parliament were ſitting, and had come to a reſolution not to diſſolve themſelves, but to fill up the houſe by new elections; and were at that very time engaged in deliberations with regard to this expedient. Cromwel in a rage immediately haſtens to the houſe, and carries a body of 300 ſoldiers along with him. Some of them he placed at the door, ſome in the lobby, ſome on the ſtairs. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to his friend St. John, and told him, that he had come with a purpoſe of doing what grieved him to the very ſoul, and what he had earneſtly with tears prayed the Lord not to impoſe upon him: But there was a neceſſity, in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He ſat down for ſome time, and heard the de-

20th of April.

bates.

bates. He beckoned Harriſon, and told him, that he now judged the parliament ripe for a diſſolution. "Sir," ſaid Harriſon, "the work is very great and dangerous: "I deſire you ſeriouſly to conſider, before you engage in "it." You ſay well," replied the General; and thereupon ſat ſtill about a quarter of an hour. When the queſtion was ready to be put, he ſaid again to Harriſon, "This "is the time: I muſt do it." And ſuddenly ſtarting up, he loaded the parliament with the vileſt reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition oppreſſion, and robbery of the public. Then ſtamping with his foot, which was the ſignal for the ſoldiers to enter, "For ſhame," ſaid he to the parliament, "get you gone: Give place to "honeſter men; to thoſe who will more faithfully diſ- "charge their truſt. You are no longer a parliament: "I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. The "Lord has done with you: He has choſen other in- "ſtruments for carrying on his work." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming againſt this procedure, he cried with a loud voice, "O! Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! "The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloke, "Thou art a "whore maſter," ſaid he. To another, "Thou art "an adulterer. To a third, Thou art a drunkard "and a glutton: "And thou an extortioner," to a fourth. He commanded a ſoldier to ſeize the mace. "What ſhall we do with this bauble? Here take it "away. It is you," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to the houſe, "that have forced me upon this. I have ſought "the Lord, night and day, that he would rather ſlay "me than put me upon this work." Having commanded the ſoldiers to clear the hall, he himſelf went out the laſt, and ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

CHAP. LX. 1653.

CHAP. LX.

1653. In this furious manner, which ſo well denotes his genuine character, did Cromwel, without the leaſt oppoſition, or even murmur, annihilate that famous aſſembly, which had filled all Europe with the renown of its actions, and with aſtoniſhment at its crimes, and whoſe commencement was not more ardently deſired by the people than was its final diſſolution. All parties now reaped ſucceſſively the diſmal pleaſure of ſeeing the injuries, which they had ſuffered, revenged on their enemies; and that too by the ſame arts, which had been practiſed againſt them. The King had ſtretched his prerogative beyond its juſt bounds; and aided by the church, had well nigh put an end to all the liberties and privileges of the nation. The preſbyterians checked the progreſs of the court and clergy, and excited, by cant and hypocriſy, the populace firſt to tumults, then to war, againſt the King, the peers, and all the royaliſts. No ſooner had they reached the pinnacle of grandeur, than the independants, under the appearance of ſtill greater ſanctity, inſtigated the army againſt them, and reduced them to ſubjection. The independants, amidſt their empty dreams of liberty, or rather of dominion, were oppreſſed by the rebellion of their own ſervants, and found themſelves at once expoſed to the inſults of power and hatred of the people. By recent, as well as all antient example, it was become evident, that illegal violence, with whatever pretences it may be covered, and whatever object it may purſue, muſt inevitably end at laſt in the arbitrary and deſpotic government of a ſingle perſon.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXI.

Cromwel's birth and private life.——Barebone's Parliament.——Cromwel made Protector.——Peace with Holland.——A new Parliament.——Insurrection of the Royaliſts.——State of Europe.——War with Spain.——Jamaica conquered.——Succeſs and death of admiral Blake.——Domeſtic adminiſtration of Cromwel.——Humble Petition and Advice.——Dunkirk taken.——Sickneſs of the Protector.——His death.——And Character.

CHAP. LXI. 1653.

OLIVER CROMWEL, in whoſe hands the diſſolution of the parliament had left the whole power, civil and military, of three kingdoms, was born at Huntingdon, the laſt year of the former century, of a very good family; tho' he himſelf, being the ſon of a ſecond brother, inherited but a ſmall eſtate from his father. In the courſe of his education he had been ſent to the univerſity; but his genius was found little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning; and he made ſmall proficiency in his ſtudies. He even threw himſelf into a very diſſolute and diſorderly courſe of life; and he conſumed, in gaming, drinking, debauchery, and country riots, the more early years of his youth, and diſſipated part of his patrimony. All of a ſudden, the ſpirit of reformation ſeized him; he married, affected a grave and compoſed behaviour, entered into all the zeal and rigour of the puritanical party, and offered to reſtore to every one whatever ſums he had formerly gained by gaming. The ſame vehemence of temper, which had tranſported him into the extremes of pleaſure, now diſtinguiſhed his religious habits. His houſe was

Cromwel's birth and private life.

CHAP. LXI. 1653.

the resort of all the zealous clergy of the party; and his hospitality, as well as his liberalities to the silenced and deprived ministers, proved as chargeable as his former debaucheries. Tho' he had acquired a tolerable fortune by a maternal uncle, he found his affairs so injured by his expences, that he was obliged to take a farm at St. Ives, and apply himself, for some years, to agriculture as a profession. But this expedient served rather to involve him in farther debts and difficulties. The long prayers which he said to his family in the morning, and again in the afternoon, consumed his own time and that of his ploughmen; and he reserved no leisure for the care of his temporal affairs. His active mind, superior to the low occupations, to which he was condemned, preyed upon itself; and he indulged his imagination in visions, illuminations, revelations; the great nourishment of that hypocondriacal temper, to which he was ever subject. Urged by his wants and his devotions, he had formed a party with Hambden, his near kinsman, who was pressed only by the latter motive, to transport himself into New England, now become the retreat of the more zealous among the puritanical party; and it was an order of council, which obliged them to disembark and remain in England. The Earl of Bedford, who possessed a large estate in the Fen Country, near the isle of Ely, having undertaken to drain these moraſſes, was obliged to apply to the King; and by the powers of the prerogative, he got commissioners appointed, who conducted that work, and divided the new acquired land among the several proprietors. He met with opposition from many, among whom Cromwel distinguished himself; and this was the first public opportunity, which he had met met with, of discovering the factious zeal and obstinacy of his character.

FROM accident and intrigue he was chosen by the town of Cambridge member of the long parliament. His domestic affairs were then in great disorder; and he

seemed not to possess any talents, which could qualify him to rise in that public sphere, into which he was now at last entered. His person was ungraceful, his dress slovenly, his voice untuneable, his elocution homely, tedious, obscure, and embarrassed. The fervor of his spirit frequently prompted him to rise in the house; but he was not heard with attention: His name, for above two years, is not to be found oftener than twice in any committee; and those committees, into which he was admitted, were chosen for affairs, which would more interest the zealots than the men of business. In comparison of the eloquent speakers and fine gentlemen of the house, he was entirely overlooked; and his friend Hambden alone was acquainted with the depth of his genius, and foretold, that if a civil war should ensue, he would soon rise to eminence and distinction. 1653.

CROMWEL himself seems to have been conscious where his strength lay; and partly from that motive, partly from the uncontroleable fury of his zeal, he always joined that party, which pushed every thing to extremity against the King. He was very active for the famous remonstrance, which was the signal for all the ensuing commotions; and when, after a long debate, it was carried by a small majority, he told Lord Falkland, that, if the question had been lost, he was resolved next day to have converted into ready money the remains of his fortune, and immediately to have left the kingdom. Nor was this resolution, he said, peculiar to himself: Many others of his party he knew to be equally determined.

HE was no less than forty-three years of age, when he first embraced the military profession; and by force of genius, without any master, he soon became an excellent officer; tho' perhaps he never reached the fame of a consummate commander. He raised a troop of horse,

CHAP. LXI. 1653.

fixed his quarters in Cambridge, exerted great ſeverity towards that univerſity, which zealouſly adhered to the royal party; and ſhowed himſelf a man who would go all lengths in favour of that cauſe, which he had eſpouſed. He would not allow his ſoldiers to perplex their heads with thoſe ſubtilties of fighting by the King's authority againſt his perſon, and of obeying his Majeſty's orders ſignified by both houſes of parliament: He plainly told them, that, if he met the King in battle, he would fire a piſtol in his face as readily as againſt any other man. His troop of horſe he ſoon augmented to a regiment, and he firſt inſtituted that diſcipline and inſpired that ſpirit, which rendered the parliamentary armies in the end victorious. "Your troops," ſaid he to Hambden, according to his own account [a], "are moſt of "them old decayed ſerving men and tapſters, and ſuch "kind of fellows; the King's forces are compoſed of "gentlemen's younger ſons and perſons of good quality. "And do you think, that the mean ſpirits of ſuch baſe "and low fellows as ours will ever be able to encounter "gentlemen, that have honour and courage and reſo-"lution in them? You muſt get men of ſpirit; and "take it not ill that I ſay, of a ſpirit, that is likely to "go as far as gentlemen will go, or elſe I am ſure "you will ſtill be beaten, as you have hitherto been, in "every rencounter." He did as he propoſed. He inliſted freeholders and farmers ſons. He carefully invited into his regiment all the zealous fanatics throughout England. When collected in a body, their enthuſiaſtic ſpirit ſtill roſe to a higher pitch. Their colonel, from his own natural character, as much as from policy, was ſufficiently inclined to encreaſe the flame. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he puniſhed, he rewarded. The wild enthuſiaſm, together with valour and diſcipline, ſtill propagated itſelf; and all men caſt their eyes on ſo

[a] Conference held at Whitehall.

1653.

pious and ſo ſucceſsful a leader. From low commands, he roſe with great rapidity to be really the firſt, tho' in appearance only the ſecond, in the army. By fraud and violence, he ſoon rendered himſelf the firſt in the ſtate. In proportion to the increaſe of his authority, his talents ſeemed always to expand themſelves; and he diſplayed every day new abilities, which had lain dormant till the very emergence, by which they were called forth into action. All Europe ſtood aſtoniſhed to ſee a nation, ſo turbulent and unruly, who, for ſome encroachments on their privileges, had dethroned and murdered an excellent Prince, deſcended from a long line of monarchs, now at laſt ſubdued and reduced to ſlavery by one, who, a few years before, was no better than a private gentleman, whoſe name was not known in the nation, and who was very little regarded even in that low ſphere, to which he had always been confined.

THE indignation, entertained by the people, againſt an authority, founded on ſuch manifeſt uſurpation, was not ſo violent as might naturally be expected. Congratulatory addreſſes, the firſt of the kind, were made to Cromwel by the fleet, the army, even many of the chief corporations and counties of England; but eſpecially by the ſeveral congregations of pretended ſaints, diſperſed throughout the kingdom [b]. The royaliſts, tho' they could not love the man, who had embrued his hands in the blood of their ſovereign, expected more lenity from him, than from the jealous and imperious republicans, who had hitherto governed. The preſbyterians were pleaſed to ſee thoſe men, by whom they had been outwitted and expelled, now in the end expelled and outwitted by their own ſervant; and they applauded him, for this laſt act of violence upon the parliament. Theſe two parties compoſed the bulk of the nation, and kept the people in ſome tolerable temper. All men,

[b] See Milton's State papers.

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CHAP. LXI. 1653.

likewiſe, harraſſed with wars and factions, were glad to ſee any proſpect of juſtice and ſettlement. And they deemed it leſs ignominious to ſubmit to a perſon of ſuch admirable talents and capacity than to a few ignoble enthuſiaſtic hypocrites, who, under the name of a republic, had reduced them to a cruel ſubjection.

THE republicans being dethroned by Cromwel, were the party whoſe reſentment he had the greateſt reaſon to apprehend. That party, beſides the independants, contained two ſets of men, who are ſeemingly of the moſt oppoſite principles, but who were then united by a ſimilitude of genius and of character. The firſt and moſt numerous were the millenarians, or fifth monarchy men, who inſiſted, that, dominion being founded in grace, all diſtinction of magiſtracy muſt be aboliſhed, except what aroſe from piety and holineſs; who expected ſuddenly the ſecond coming of Chriſt upon earth; and who pretended, that the ſaints in the mean while, that is, themſelves, were alone entitled to govern. The ſecond were the deiſts, who had no other object than political liberty, who denied entirely the truth of revelation, and inſinuated, that all the various ſects, ſo heated againſt each other were alike founded in folly and in error. Men of ſuch daring geniuſes were not contented with the eſtabliſhed forms of civil government; but challenged a degree of freedom beyond what they expected ever to enjoy under any monarchy. Martin, Challoner, Harrington, Sidney, Wildman, Nevil, were eſteemed the heads of this ſmall diviſion.

THE deiſts were perfectly hated by Cromwel, becauſe he had no hold of enthuſiaſm by which he could govern or over-reach them; he therefore treated them with great rigor and diſdain, and uſually denominated them the *heathens*. As the millenarians had a great intereſt in the army, it was much more important for him to gain

gain their confidence; and their ſize of underſtanding afforded him great facility in deceiving them. Of late years, it had been ſo uſual a topic of converſation to diſcourſe of parliaments and councils and ſenates, and the ſoldiers themſelves had been ſo much accuſtomed to enter into that ſpirit, that Cromwel thought it requiſite to eſtabliſh ſomething which might bear the face of a commonwealth. He ſuppoſed, that God, in his providence, had thrown the whole right as well as power of government into his hands; and without any more ceremony, by the advice of his council of officers, he ſent ſummons to a hundred and twenty-eight perſons of different towns and counties of England, to five of Scotland, to ſix of Ireland. He pretended, by his ſole act and deed, to devolve upon theſe perſons the whole authority of the ſtate. This legiſlative power they were to exerciſe during fifteen months; and they were afterwards to chooſe the ſame number of perſons, who might ſucceed them in that high and important office. 1653. Barebone's Parliament.

THERE were great numbers at that time, always diſpoſed to adhere to the power, which was uppermoſt, and to ſupport the eſtabliſhed government. This maxim is not peculiar to the people of that age; but what may be eſteemed peculiar to them, is, that there prevailed an hypocritical phraſe for expreſſing ſo prudential a conduct: It was called a waiting upon providence. When providence, therefore, was ſo kind as to beſtow on theſe perſons, now aſſembled together, the ſupreme authority, they muſt have been very ungrateful, if, in their turn, they had been wanting in complaiſance towards it. They immediately voted themſelves a parliament; and having their own conſent, as well as that of Oliver Cromwel, for their legiſlative authority, they now proceeded very gravely to the exerciſe of it. 4th of July.

IN this notable aſſembly were ſome perſons of the rank of gentlemen; but the far greateſt part were low mechanics;

CHAP. LXI.

1653.

chanics; fifth monarchy men, anabaptiſts, antinomians, independants; the very dregs of the fanatics. They began with ſeeking God by prayer: This office was performed by eight or ten *gifted* men of the aſſembly; and with ſo much ſucceſs, that, according to the confeſſion of all, they had never before, in any of their devout exerciſes, enjoyed ſo much of the holy ſpirit as was then communicated to them. Their hearts were, no doubt, dilated when they conſidered the high dignity, to which they ſuppoſed themſelves exalted. They had been told by Cromwel in his firſt diſcourſe, that he never looked to ſee ſuch a day, when Chriſt ſhould be ſo owned [c]. They thought it therefore their duty to proceed to a thorough reformation, and to pave the way for the reign of the Redeemer, and for that great work, which, it was expected, the Lord was to bring forth among them. All fanatics, being conſecrated by their own fond imaginations, naturally bear an antipathy to the clergy, who claim a peculiar ſanctity, derived merely from their office and prieſtly character. This parliament took into conſideration the abolition of

[c] Theſe are his expreſſions. "Indeed, I have but one word more to ſay "to you, tho' in that perhaps I ſhall ſhow my weakneſs: It is by way of "encouragement to you in this work; give me leave to begin thus: I con- "feſs I never looked to have ſeen ſuch a day as this, it may be nor you nei- "ther, when Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be ſo owned as he is at this day and in this "work. Jeſus Chriſt is owned this day by your call, and you own him by "your willingneſs to appear for him, and you manifeſt this (as far as poor "creatures can do) to be a day of the power of Chriſt. I know you well "remember that ſcripture, *he makes his people willing in the day of his power.* "God manifeſts it to be the day of the power of Chriſt, having thro' ſo much "blood and ſo much tryal as has been upon this nation, he makes this one of "the greateſt mercies, next to his own ſon, to have his people called to the "ſupreme authority. God hath owned his ſon, and hath owned you, and "hath made you to own him. I confeſs, I never looked to have ſeen ſuch "a day: I did not." I ſuppoſe at this paſſage he cried: For he was very much given to weeping, and could at any time ſhed abundance of tears. The reſt of the ſpeech may be ſeen among Milton's State papers, page 106. It is very curious, and full of the ſame obſcurity, confuſion, embarraſſment and abſurdity, which appear in almoſt all Oliver's productions.

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the clerical function, as ſavouring of popery; and the taking away tythes, which they called a relict of Judaiſm. Learning alſo and the univerſities they deemed heatheniſh and unneceſſary: The common law they denominated a badge of the conqueſt and of Norman ſlavery; and threatened the lawyers with a total abrogation of their profeſſion. Some ſteps were even taken towards an abolition of the chancery [d], the higheſt court of judicature in the kingdom; and the Moſaical law was intended to be eſtabliſhed as the ſole ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence [e].

CHAP. LXI. 1653.

OF all the extraordinary ſchemes, adopted by theſe legiſlators, they had not leiſure to finiſh any, except that which eſtabliſhed the legal ſolemnization of marriage by the civil magiſtrate alone, without the interpoſition of the clergy. They found themſelves expoſed to the deriſion of the public. Among the fanatics of the houſe, there was a very active member, much noted for long prayers, ſermons, and harangues. He was a leather-ſeller in London: His name *Praiſe-god Barebone*. This ridiculous name, which ſeems to have been choſen by ſome poet or allegoriſt to ſuit ſo ridiculous a perſonage, ſtruck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this aſſembly the denomination of Barebone's parliament [f].

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[d] Whitlocke, p. 543, 548. [e] Conference held at Whitehall.

[f] It was uſual for the pretended ſaints at that time to change their names from Henry, Edward, Anthony, William, which they regarded as heatheniſh, into others more ſanctified and godly: Even the New Teſtament names, James, Andrew, John, Peter, were not held in ſuch regard as thoſe borrowed from the Old Teſtament, Hezekiah, Habbakuk, Joſhua, Zerobabel. Sometimes a whole godly ſentence was adopted as a name. Here are the names of a jury ſaid to be encloſed in the county of Suſſex about that time.

Accepted, Trevor of Norſham.
Redeemed, Compton of Battle.
Faint not, Hewit of Heathfield.
Make peace, Heaton of Hare.
God Reward, Smart of Fivehurſt.
Standfaſt on high, Stringer of Crowhurſt.
Earth, Adams of Warbleton.
Called, Lower of the ſame.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham.

Return

CHAP. LXI. 1653.

THE Dutch ambaſſadors endeavoured to enter into negotiation with this parliament; but tho' proteſtants and even preſbyterians, they met with a very bad reception from thoſe who pretended to a ſanctity ſo much ſuperior. The Hollanders were regarded as worldly minded men, intent only on commerce and induſtry; whom it was fitting the ſaints ſhould firſt eradicate, ere they undertook that great work, to which they believed themſelves deſtined by providence, of ſubduing Antichriſt, the man of ſin, and extending to the uttermoſt bounds of the earth the kingdom of the Redeemer [g]. The ambaſſadors, finding themſelves proſcribed, not as enemies of England, but of Chriſt, remained in aſtoniſhment, and knew not which was moſt to be admired, the implacable ſpirit or egregious folly of theſe pretended ſaints.

CROMWEL began to be aſhamed of his legiſlature. If he ever had any other deſign in ſummoning ſo prepoſterous an aſſembly beyond amuſing the populace and the army; he had intended to alarm the clergy and lawyers; and he had ſo far ſucceeded as to make them deſire any other government, which might ſecure their profeſſions, now brought in danger by theſe deſperate fanatics. Cromwel himſelf was diſſatisfied, that the parliament, tho' they had received all their authority from him, began to pretend power from the Lord [h], and to

Return, Spelman of Watling.
Be Faithful, Joiner of Britling.
Fly Debate, Roberts of the ſame.
Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.
More Fruit, Fowler of Eaſt Hadley.
Hope for, Bending of the ſame.
Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
Weep not, Billing of the ſame.
Meek, Brewer of Okeham.

See Brome's Travels into England, p. 279. "Cromwel," ſays an anonymous author of thoſe times, "hath beat up his drums clean thro' the Old "Teſtament. You may learn the genealogy of our Saviour by the names of "his regiment. The muſter-maſter has no other liſt, than the firſt chapter "of St. Matthew."

[g] Thurloe, Vol. I. p. 273, 591. Alſo Stubbe, p. 91, 92.
[h] Thurloe, Vol. I. p. 393.

inſiſt

insist already on their divine commission. He had carefully summoned in his writs several persons entirely devoted to him. By concert, these met early; and it was mentioned by some among them, that the sitting of this parliament any longer would be of no service to the nation. They hastened, therefore, to Cromwel, along with Rouse, their speaker; and by a formal deed or assignment, resigned back into his hands that supreme authority, which they had so lately received from him. General Harrison and about twenty more remained in the house; and that they might prevent the reign of the saints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and began to draw up protests. They were soon interrupted by Colonel White, with a party of soldiers. He asked them what they did there. "We are seeking the Lord," said they. "Then you may go elsewhere," replied he: For to my certain "knowledge, he has not been here these several "years."

12th of December.

THE military being now in appearance, as well as in reality, the sole power which prevailed in the nation, Cromwel thought fit to indulge a new fancy: For he seems not to have had any concerted plan in all these alterations. Lambert, his creature, who, under the appearance of obsequiousness to him, indulged a most unbounded ambition, proposed in a council of officers to adopt another scheme of government, and to temper the liberty of a Commonwealth by the authority of a single person, who should be known by the appellation of Protector. Without delay, he prepared what was called the Instrument of Government, containing the plan of this new legislature; and as it was supposed to be agreeable to the general, it was immediately voted by the council of officers. Cromwel was declared Protector; and with great solemnity installed in that high office.

Cromwel made Protector.

So

CHAP. LXI. 1653.

So little were theſe men endowed with the ſpirit of legiſlation, that they confeſſed, or rather boaſted, that they had employed only four days in drawing this inſtrument, by which the whole government of the three kingdoms was pretended to be regulated and adjuſted for all ſucceeding generations. There appears no difficulty in believing them; when it is conſidered how crude and undigeſted a ſyſtem of civil polity they endeavoured to eſtabliſh. The chief articles of the inſtrument are theſe: A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor be leſs than thirteen perſons. Theſe were to enjoy their office during life or good behaviour; and in caſe of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the Protector choſe one. The Protector was appointed the ſupreme magiſtrate of the Commonwealth: In his name was all juſtice adminiſtered; from him were all magiſtracy and all honours derived; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, excepting murder and treaſon; to him the benefit of all forfeitures devolved. The right of peace, war, and alliance, reſted in him; but in theſe particulars he was to act entirely by the advice and with the conſent of his council. The power of the ſword was veſted in the Protector, jointly with the parliament, while it was ſitting, or with the council of ſtate in the intervals. He was obliged to ſummon a parliament every three years, and allow them to ſit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or diſſolution. The bills, which they enacted, were to be preſented to the Protector for his conſent; but if within twenty days it was not obtained, they were to paſs into laws by the authority alone of the parliament. A ſtanding army for Britain and Ireland was eſtabliſhed, of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horſe; and funds were aſſigned for their ſupport. Theſe were not to be diminiſhed without conſent of the Protector; and in this article alone he aſ-

ſumed

ſumed a negative. During the intervals of parliament, the Protector and council had the power of enacting laws, which were valid till the firſt meeting of parliament. The chancellor, treaſurer, admiral, chief governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the chief juſtices of both the benches muſt be choſen with the approbation of parliament; and in the intervals, with the approbation of the council, to be afterwards ratified by parliament. The Protector enjoyed his office during life; and on his death, the place was immediately to be ſupplied by the council. This was the inſtrument of government enacted by the council of officers, and ſolemnly ſworn to by Oliver Cromwel. The council of ſtate named by the Inſtrument were fifteen; men entirely devoted to the Protector, and not likely, by reaſon of the oppoſition among themſelves in party and principles, ever to combine againſt him.

CROMWEL ſaid, that he accepted the dignity of Protector, merely that he might exert the duty of a conſtable, and preſerve peace in the nation. Affairs indeed were brought to that paſs, by the furious animoſities of the ſeveral factions, that the extenſive authority and even arbitrary power of ſome firſt magiſtrate was become a neceſſary evil, in order to keep the people from relapſing into blood and confuſion. The independants were too ſmall a party ever to eſtabliſh a popular government, or entruſt the nation, where they had ſo little intereſt, with the free choice of its own repreſentatives. The preſbyterians had adopted the violent maxims of perſecution; incompatible at all times with the peace of ſociety, much more with the wild zeal of thoſe numerous ſects, which prevailed among the people. The royaliſts were ſo much enraged by the injuries, which they had ſuffered, that the other prevailing parties would never ſubmit to them, who, they knew, were enabled merely by the execution of the antient laws, to take ſuch ſe-

CHAP. LXI. 1653.

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CHAP. LXI. 1653.

vere revenge upon them. Had Cromwel been guilty of no crime but this temporary uſurpation, the plea of neceſſity and public good, which he alleged, might be allowed, in every view, a very reaſonable excuſe for his conduct.

DURING the variety of ridiculous and diſtracted ſcenes, which the civil government preſented in England, the military force was exerted with the utmoſt vigor, conduct, and unanimity; and never did the kingdom appear more formidable to all foreign nations. The Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of a hundred ſail, and commanded by Monk and Dean, and under them by Pen and Lauſon, met, near the coaſt of Flanders, with the Dutch fleet, equally numerous, and commanded by Tromp. The two republics were not inflamed by any national antipathy, and their intereſts very little interfered: Yet few battles have been fought with more fierce and obſtinate courage than were thoſe many naval combats, which occurred during this ſhort, but violent war. The deſire of remaining ſole lords of the ocean animated theſe ſtates to an honourable emulation againſt each other. After a battle of two days, in the firſt of which Dean was killed, the Dutch, inferior in the ſize of their ſhips, were obliged, with great loſs, to retire into their harbours. Blake, towards the end of the fight, joined his countrymen with 18 ſail. The Engliſh fleet lay off the coaſt of Holland, and totally interrupted the commerce of that republic.

THE ambaſſadors, whom the Dutch had ſent into England, gave them hopes of peace. But as they could obtain no ceſſation of hoſtilities, the ſtates, unwilling to ſuffer any longer the loſs and diſgrace of being blockaded by their enemy, made the utmoſt efforts to recover their injured honour. Never on any occaſion did the power and vigor of that ſtate appear in a more conſpicuous light.

light. In a few weeks, they had repaired and manned their fleet; and they equipped ſome ſhips of a larger ſize, than any which they had hitherto ſent to ſea. Tromp iſſued out, determined again to fight the victors, and to die rather than to yield the conteſt. He met with the enemy, commanded by Monk; and both ſides immediately ruſhed into the combat. Tromp, gallantly animating his men, with his ſword drawn, was ſhot thro' the heart with a muſquet ball. This event alone decided the battle in favour of the Engliſh. Tho' near thirty ſhips of the Dutch were ſunk and taken, they little regarded this loſs compared with that of their brave admiral. CHAP. LXI. 1653. 29th of July.

MEANWHILE the negotiations of peace were continually advancing. The ſtates, overwhelmed with the expences of the war, terrified by their loſſes, and mortified by their defeats, were infinitely deſirous of an accommodation with an enemy whom they found, by experience, to be too powerful for them. The King having ſhown a deſire to ſerve on board their fleet; tho' they expreſſed their ſenſe of the honour intended them, they declined an offer, which might enflame the quarrel with the Engliſh Commonwealth. The great obſtacle to the peace was found not to be any animoſity in the Engliſh; but on the contrary a deſire too earneſt of union and confederacy. Cromwel had revived the chimerical ſcheme of a coalition with the United Provinces; a total conjunction of government, privileges, intereſts, and councils. This project appeared ſo wild to the States General, that they wondered any man of ſenſe could ever entertain it; and they refuſed to enter into conferences with regard to a propoſal, which could ſerve only to delay any practicable ſcheme of accommodation. 1654. 15th April.

The peace was at laſt ſigned by Cromwel, now inveſted with the dignity of Protector; and it proves ſufficiently, that the war had been very impolitic, ſince after the Peace with Holland.

CHAP. LXI. 1654.

moſt ſignal victories, no terms more advantageous could be obtained. A defenſive league was made between the two republics. They agreed, each of them, to baniſh the enemies of the other; thoſe concerned in the maſſacre of Amboyna were to be puniſhed, if any remained alive; the honour of the flag was yielded to the Engliſh; eighty-five thouſand pounds were ſtipulated to be payed by the Dutch Eaſt India company for loſſes, which the Engliſh company had ſuſtained; and the iſland of Polarone in the Eaſt Indies was promiſed to be yielded to the latter.

CROMWEL, jealous of the connexions between the royal family and that of Orange, inſiſted on a ſeparate article; that neither the young Prince nor any of his family ſhould ever be inveſted with the dignity of Stadholder. The province of Holland, ſtrongly prejudiced againſt that office, which they eſteemed dangerous to liberty, ſecretly ratified this article. The Protector, knowing that the other provinces would never be induced to make ſuch a conceſſion, was ſatisfied with that ſecurity.

THE Dutch war, being ſucceſsful, and the peace reaſonable, brought credit to Cromwel's adminiſtration. An act of juſtice, which he exerciſed at home, gave likewiſe ſatisfaction to the people; tho' the regularity of it may perhaps appear ſomewhat doubtful. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador, and joined with him in the ſame commiſſion [1], fancying himſelf inſulted in London, came into the Exchange, armed and attended with ſeveral ſervants. By miſtake, he fell upon a gentleman, whom he took for the perſon that had given him the offence, and having butchered him with many wounds, he and all his accomplices took ſhelter in the houſe of the Portugueſe ambaſſador,

[1] Thurloe, Vol. II. p. 429.

who

who had connived at this baſe enterprize [k]. The populace ſurrounded the houſe, and threatened to ſet it on fire. Cromwel ſent a guard, who ſeized all the criminals. They were brought to trial: And notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the ambaſſador, who pleaded the privileges of his office, Don Pantaleon was executed on Tower-hill. The laws of nations were here plainly violated: But the crime committed by the Portugueſe gentleman was to the laſt degree atrocious; and the vigorous chaſtiſement of it, ſuiting ſo well the undaunted character of Cromwel, was univerſally approved at home and admired among foreign nations. The ſituation of Portugal obliged that court to acquieſce; and the ambaſſador ſoon after ſigned with the Protector a treaty of peace and alliance, which was very advantageous to the Engliſh commerce. 1654.

ANOTHER act of ſeverity, but neceſſary in his ſituation, was, at the very ſame time, exerciſed by the Protector, in the capital puniſhment of Gerard and Vowel, two royaliſts, who were accuſed of conſpiring againſt his life. He had erected a high court of juſtice for their trial; an infringement of the antient laws, which at this time was become familiar, but one to which no cuſtom or precedent could reconcile the nation. Juries were found altogether unmanageable. The reſtleſs Lilburn, for new offences, had been brought to a new trial; and had been acquitted with new triumph and exultation. If no other method of conviction had been deviſed during this illegal and unpopular government, all its enemies were aſſured of entire impunity.

THE Protector had occaſion to obſerve the prejudices entertained againſt his government, by the diſpoſition of the parliament, which he ſummoned on the third of September, that day of the year, on which he gained his two great victories of Dunbar and Worceſter, and

3d of September. A new parliament.

[k] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 616.

CHAP. LXI.

1654.

which he always regarded as fortunate for him. It muſt be confeſſed, that, if we are left to gather Cromwel's intentions from his inſtrument of government, it is ſuch a motley piece, that we cannot eaſily conjecture, whether he ſeriouſly meant to eſtabliſh a tyranny or a republic. On one hand, a firſt magiſtrate, in ſo extenſive a government, ſeemed requiſite both for the dignity and tranquillity of the ſtate; and the authority, which he aſſumed as protector, was, in ſome reſpects, inferior to the prerogatives, which the laws entruſted and ſtill entruſt to the King. On the other hand, the legiſlative power, which he reſerved to himſelf and council, together with ſo great an army, independant of the parliament, were bad prognoſtics of his intention to ſubmit to a civil and legal conſtitution. But if this was not his intention, the method, in which he diſtributed and conducted the elections, being ſo favourable to liberty, form an inconſiſtency which is not eaſily accounted for. He deprived of their right of election all the ſmall burroughs, places much expoſed to influence and corruption. Of 400 members, which repreſented England, 270 were choſen by the counties. The reſt were elected by London, and the more conſiderable corporations. The lower populace too, ſo eaſily guided or deceived, were excluded from the elections: An eſtate of 200 pounds value was requiſite to entitle any one to a vote. The elections of this parliament were conducted with perfect freedom; and, excepting that ſuch of the royaliſts as had borne arms againſt the parliament and all their ſons were excluded, a more fair repreſentation of the people could not be deſired nor expected. Thirty members were returned from Scotland; as many from Ireland.

THE Protector ſeems to have been diſappointed, when he found, that all theſe precautions, which were probably nothing but covers to his ambition, had not procured him the confidence of the public. Though Crom-

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CHAP. LXI.

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CHAP. LXI. 1654.

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1654.

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In proſecution of theſe views, the parliament, having heard the Protector's ſpeech three hours long [1], and having choſen Lenthal for their ſpeaker, immediately entered into a diſcuſſion of the pretended inſtrument of government, and of that authority, which Cromwel, under the title of Protector, had aſſumed over the nation. The greateſt liberty was uſed in arraigning this new dignity; and even the perſonal character and conduct of Cromwel eſcaped not altogether without cenſure. The utmoſt, which could be obtained by the officers and by the court party, for ſo they were called, was to protract the debate by arguments and long ſpeeches, and prevent the deciſion of a queſtion, which, they were ſenſible, would be carried againſt them by a great majority. The Protector, ſurpriſed and enraged at this refractory ſpirit in the parliament, which however he had ſo much reaſon to expect, ſent for them to the Painted Chamber, and with an air of great authority inveighed againſt their conduct. He told them, that nothing could be more abſurd than for them to diſpute his title; ſince the ſame inſtrument of government, which made them a parliament, had inveſted him with the Protectorſhip; that ſome points in the new conſtitution were ſuppoſed to be fundamentals, and were not, on any pretence, to be altered or diſputed; that among theſe were the government of the nation by one perſon and a parliament, their joint authority over the army and militia, the ſucceſſion of new parliaments, and liberty of conſcience; and that, with regard to theſe particulars, there was reſerved to him a negative voice, to which, in the other circumſtances of government, he confeſſed himſelf no wiſe intitled.

[1] Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 588.

THE

CHAP. LXI.

THE Protector now found himſelf neceſſitated to exact a ſecurity, which, had he foreſeen the ſpirit of the houſe, he would with much better grace have required at their firſt meeting [m]. He obliged the members to ſign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propoſe or conſent to any alteration of the government, as it was ſettled in one ſingle perſon and a parliament; and he placed guards at the door of the houſe, who allowed none but ſubſcribers to enter. Moſt of the members, after ſome heſitation, ſubmitted to this condition; but retained the ſame refractory ſpirit, which they had diſcovered in their firſt debates. The inſtrument of government was taken in pieces, and examined, one article after another, with the moſt ſcrupulous accuracy: Very free topics were advanced with the general approbation of the houſe: And during the whole courſe of their tranſactions, they neither ſent up one law to the Protector, nor took any notice of him. Being informed, that conſpiracies were entered into between the members and ſome malecontent officers of the army; he haſtened to a diſſolution of ſo dangerous an aſſembly. By the inſtrument of government, to which he had ſworn, no parliament could be diſſolved, till it had ſate five months; but Cromwel pretended, that a month contained only twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation practiſed in paying the fleet and army. The full time, therefore, according to this reckoning, being elapſed; the parliament was ordered to attend the Protector, where he made them a tedious, confuſed, angry harangue, and diſmiſſed them. Were we to judge of Cromwel's capacity by this, and indeed by all his other compoſitions, we ſhould be apt to entertain no very favourable idea of it. But in the great variety of human geniuſes, there are ſome, which, tho' they ſee their object clearly and diſtinctly in general;

1654.

1655. 22d of January.

[m] Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 620.

yet,

CHAP. LXI. 1654.

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THE

CHAP. LXI.

THE Protector now found himself necessitated to exact a security, which, had he foreseen the spirit of the house, he would with much better grace have required at their first meeting [m]. He obliged the members to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration of the government, as it was settled in one single person and a parliament; and he placed guards at the door of the house, who allowed none but subscribers to enter. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this condition; but retained the same refractory spirit, which they had discovered in their first debates. The instrument of government was taken in pieces, and examined, one article after another, with the most scrupulous accuracy: Very free topics were advanced with the general approbation of the house: And during the whole course of their transactions, they neither sent up one law to the Protector, nor took any notice of him. Being informed, that conspiracies were entered into between the members and some malecontent officers of the army; he hastened to a dissolution of so dangerous an assembly. By the instrument of government, to which he had sworn, no parliament could be dissolved, till it had sate five months; but Cromwel pretended, that a month contained only twenty-eight days, according to the method of computation practised in paying the fleet and army. The full time, therefore, according to this reckoning, being elapsed; the parliament was ordered to attend the Protector, where he made them a tedious, confused, angry harangue, and dismissed them. Were we to judge of Cromwel's capacity by this, and indeed by all his other compositions, we should be apt to entertain no very favourable idea of it. But in the great variety of human geniuses, there are some, which, tho' they see their object clearly and distinctly in general;

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CHAP. LXI. 1655.

yet, when they come to unfold its parts by diſcourſe or writing, loſe that luminous conception, which they had before attained. All accounts agree in aſcribing to Cromwel a tireſome, dark, unintelligible elocution, even when he had no intention to diſguiſe his meaning: Yet no man's actions were ever, in ſuch a variety of difficult incidents, more deciſive and judicious.

THE electing a diſcontented parliament is a ſure proof of a diſcontented nation: The angry and abrupt diſſolution of that parliament is ſure always to encreaſe the general diſcontent. The members of this aſſembly, returning to their counties, propagated that ſpirit of mutiny, which they had exerted in the houſe. Sir Harry Vane, and the old republicans, who maintained the indiſſoluble authority of the long parliament, encouraged the murmurs againſt the preſent uſurpation; though they acted ſo cautiouſly as to give the Protector no handle againſt them. Wildman and ſome others of that party carried ſtill farther their conſpiracies againſt the Protector's authority. The royaliſts, obſerving this general ill will towards the eſtabliſhment, could no longer be retained in ſubjection; but fancied, that every one, who was diſſatisfied like them, had alſo embraced the ſame views and inclinations. They did not conſider, that all the old parliamentary party, though many of them were diſpleaſed with Cromwel, who had diſpoſſeſſed them of their power, were ſtill more apprehenſive of any ſucceſs to the royal cauſe; whence, beſides a certain proſpect of the ſame inconvenience, they had ſo much reaſon to dread the ſevereſt vengeance for their paſt tranſgreſſions.

Inſurrection of the royaliſts.

IN concert with the King a conſpiracy was entered into by the royaliſts throughout England, and a day of general riſing appointed. Information of this deſign was conveyed to Cromwel. The Protector's adminiſtration was extremely vigilant. Thurloe, his ſecretary, had

ſpies

ſpies every where. Manning, who had acceſs to the King's family, kept a regular correſpondence with him. And it was not difficult to obtain intelligence of a confederacy, ſo generally diffuſed among a party, who valued themſelves more on zeal and courage, than on ſecrecy and ſobriety. Many of the royaliſts were thrown into priſon. Others, on the approach of the day, were terrified with the danger of the undertaking, and remained at home. In one place alone the conſpiracy broke out into action. Penruddoc, Groves, Jones, and other gentlemen of the weſt, entered Saliſbury with about 200 horſe; at the very time when the ſheriff and judges were holding the aſſizes. Theſe they made priſoners; and they proclaimed the King. Contrary to their expectations, they received no acceſſion of force; ſo prevalent was the terror of the eſtabliſhed government. Having in vain wandered about for ſome time, they were totally diſcouraged; and one troop of horſe was able at laſt to ſuppreſs them. The leaders of the conſpiracy, being taken priſoners, were capitally puniſhed. The reſt were ſold for ſlaves, and tranſported to Barbadoes.

1655.

11th of March.

THE eaſy ſubduing this inſurrection, which, by the boldneſs of the undertaking, ſtruck at firſt an infinite terror into the nation, was a ſingular felicity to the Protector, who could not, without danger, have brought together any conſiderable body of his mutinous army, in order to ſuppreſs it. The very inſurrection itſelf he regarded as a fortunate event; ſince it proved the reality of thoſe conſpiracies, which his enemies, on every occaſion, repreſented as mere fictions, invented to colour his jealous ſeverities. He reſolved to keep no longer any terms with the royaliſts, who, though they were not perhaps the moſt implacable of his enemies, were thoſe whom he could oppreſs under the moſt plauſible pretences, and who met with leaſt countenance and protection

CHAP. LXI.

1655.

tection from his adherents. He iſſued an edict with the conſent of his council, for exacting the tenth penny from that whole party; in order, as he pretended, to make them pay the expences, to which their mutinous diſpoſition continually expoſed the public. Without regard to compoſitions, articles of capitulation, or acts of indemnity, all the royaliſts, however harraſſed with former expences and oppreſſions, were obliged anew to redeem themſelves by great ſums of money; and many of them were reduced by theſe multiplied diſaſters to extreme poverty. Whoever was known to be diſaffected, or even lay under any ſuſpicion, though no guilt could be proved againſt him, was expoſed to this exaction.

In order to raiſe an impoſition, ſo oppreſſive and iniquitous, the Protector inſtituted ten [n] major-generals; and divided the whole kingdom of England into ſo many military juriſdictions. Theſe men, aſſiſted by commiſſioners, had power to ſubject whom they pleaſed to decimation, to levy all the taxes impoſed by the Protector and his council, and to impriſon any perſon who ſhould be expoſed to their jealouſy or ſuſpicion; nor was there any appeal from them but to the Protector himſelf and his council. Under colour of theſe powers, which were ſufficiently exorbitant, the major-generals exerciſed an authority ſtill more arbitrary, and acted as if abſolute maſters of the property and perſon of every ſubject. All reaſonable men now concluded, that the very maſque of liberty was thrown aſide, and that the nation was for ever ſubjected to military and deſpotic government, exerciſed not in the legal manner of European nations, but according to the maxims of eaſtern tyranny. Not only the ſupreme magiſtrate owed his authority to illegal force and uſurpation: He had parcelled out the people into ſo many ſubdiviſions of

[n] Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 88. Moſt hiſtorians ſay, that the major-generals were eleven: Dugdale and Bates fourteen.

ſlavery,

ſlavery, and had delegated to his inferior miniſters the ſame unlimited authority, which he himſelf had ſo violently aſſumed. CHAP. LXI. 1655.

A GOVERNMENT, totally military and deſpotic, is ſure, after ſome time, to fall into impotence and languor: But when it immediately ſucceeds a legal conſtitution, it may, at firſt, to foreign nations appear very vigorous and active, and exert with more unanimity that power, ſpirit, and riches, which had been acquired under a better form of government. It ſeems now proper, after ſo long an interval, to look abroad to the general ſtate of Europe, and to conſider the meaſures, which England, at this time, embraced in its negotiations with the neighbouring princes. The moderate temper and unwarlike genius of the two laſt princes, the extreme difficulties under which they laboured at home, and the great ſecurity which they enjoyed from foreign enemies, had rendered them very negligent of the tranſactions of the continent; and England, during their reigns, had been in a manner overlooked in the general ſyſtem of Europe. The bold and reſtleſs genius of the Protector led him to extend his alliances and enterprizes to every corner of Chriſtendom; and partly from the aſcendant of his magnanimous ſpirit, partly from the ſituation of foreign kingdoms, the weight of England, even under its moſt legal and braveſt princes, was never more ſenſibly felt than during this unjuſt and violent uſurpation. State of Europe.

A WAR of thirty years, the moſt ſignal and moſt deſtructive which had appeared in modern annals, was at laſt finiſhed in Germany [o]; and by the treaty of Weſtphalia, were compoſed thoſe fatal quarrels, which had been excited by the Palatine's precipitant acceptance of the crown of Bohemia. The young Palatine was reſtored to a part of his dignities and of his dominions:

[o] In 1648.

CHAP. LXI. 1655.

The rights, privileges, and authority of the ſeveral members of the Germanic body were fixed and aſcertained: Sovereign princes and free ſtates were in ſome degree reduced to obedience under laws: And by the valour of the heroic Guſtavus, the enterprizes of the active Richelieu, the intrigues of the artful Mazarine, was in part effected, after an infinite expence of blood and treaſure, what had been expected and demanded from the feeble efforts of the pacific James, ſeconded by the ſcanty ſupplies of his jealous parliaments.

SWEDEN, which had acquired by conqueſt very large dominions in the north of Germany, was engaged in enterprizes, which promiſed her, from her ſucceſs and valour, ſtill more extenſive acquiſitions on the ſide both of Poland and of Denmark. Charles the tenth, who had mounted the throne of that kingdom after the voluntary reſignation of Chriſtina, being ſtimulated by the fame of the great Guſtavus as well as by his own martial diſpoſition, carried his conquering arms to the ſouth of the Baltic, and gained the celebrated victory of Warſaw, which had been obſtinately conteſted during the ſpace of three days. The Protector, at the time his alliance was courted by every power in Europe, anxiouſly courted the alliance of Sweden; and he was fond of forming a confederacy with a proteſtant power of ſuch renown, even tho' it threatened the whole north with conqueſt and ſubjection.

THE tranſactions of the parliament and Protector with France had been various and complicated. The emiſſaries of Richelieu had furniſhed fuel to the flame of rebellion, when it firſt broke out in Scotland; but after the conflagration had diffuſed itſelf, the French court, obſerving the materials to be of themſelves ſufficiently combuſtible, found it unneceſſary any longer to animate the Britiſh malecontents to an oppoſition of their Sovereign.

vereign. On the contrary, they offered their mediation for compoſing theſe inteſtine diſorders; and their ambaſſadors, from decency, pretended to act in concert with the court of England, and to receive directions from a prince, with whom their maſter was connected by ſo near an affinity. Meanwhile, Richelieu died, and ſoon after him, the French King, Louis the thirteenth; leaving his ſon an infant four years old, and his widow, Anne of Auſtria, regent of the kingdom. Cardinal Mazarine ſucceeded Richelieu in the miniſtry; and the ſame general plan of adminiſtration, tho' by men of ſuch oppoſite characters, was ſtill continued in the French councils. The eſtabliſhment of royal authority, the reduction of the Auſtrian family, were purſued with ardor and ſucceſs; and every year brought an acceſſion of force and grandeur to the French monarchy. Not only battles were gained, towns and fortreſſes taken; the genius too of the nation ſeemed gradually to improve, and to compoſe itſelf to the ſpirit of dutiful obedience and of ſteddy enterprize. A Condé, a Turenne were formed; and the troops animated by their valour, and guided by their diſcipline, acquired every day a greater aſcendant over the Spaniards. All of a ſudden, from ſome intrigues of the court, and ſome diſcontents in the courts of judicature, inteſtine commotions were excited, and every thing relapſed into confuſion. But theſe rebellions of the French, neither ennobled by the ſpirit of liberty, nor diſgraced by the fanatical extravagancies, which diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh civil wars, were conducted with little bloodſhed, and made but ſmall impreſſion on the minds of the people. Tho' ſeconded by the force of Spain, and conducted by the heroic Condé, the malecontents, in a little time, were either expelled or ſubdued; and the French monarchy, having loſt a few of its conqueſts, returned again, with freſh vigor, to the acquiſition of new dominion.

CHAP. LXI. 1655.

THE

CHAP. LXI. 1655.

THE Queen of England and her ſon, Charles, during theſe commotions, paſſed moſt of their time at Paris; and notwithſtanding their near connexion of blood, received but few civilities, and ſtill leſs ſupport, from the French court. Had the Queen regent been ever ſo much inclined to aſſiſt the Engliſh Prince, the diſorders of her own affairs, for a long time, would have rendered ſuch intentions abſolutely impracticable. The baniſhed Queen had a moderate penſion aſſigned her; but it was ſo ill payed, and her credit ran ſo low, that, one morning, when the Cardinal de Retz waited on her, ſhe informed him, that her daughter, the Princeſs Henrietta, was obliged to lie abed, for want of a fire to warm her. To ſuch a condition was reduced, in the midſt of Paris, a Queen of England, and daughter of Henry the fourth of France!

THE Engliſh Parliament, however, having aſſumed the ſovereignty of the ſtate, reſented the countenance, cold as it was, which the French court gave to the unfortunate Monarch. On pretence of injuries, of which the Engliſh merchants complained, they iſſued letters of repriſal upon the French; and Blake went ſo far as to attack and ſeize a whole ſquadron of ſhips, which were carrying ſupplies to Dunkirk, then cloſely beſieged by the Spaniards. That town, diſappointed of theſe ſupplies, fell into the enemies hands. The court of France ſoon found it requiſite to change their meaſures. They treated Charles with ſuch affected indifference, that he thought it more decent to withdraw, and to ſave himſelf the ſhame of being deſired to leave the kingdom. He went firſt to Spaw, thence he retired to Cologne; where he lived two years, on a ſmall penſion, about 6000 pounds a year, payed him by the French Monarch, and on ſome contributions ſent him by his friends in England. In the management of his family, he diſcovered a diſpoſition to order and oeconomy; and his temper,

temper, cheerful, careleſs, and ſociable, was more than a ſufficient compenſation for that empire, of which his enemies had bereaved him. Sir Edward Hyde, created Lord-chancellor, and the Marqueſs of Ormond, were his chief friends and confidents. CHAP. LXI. 1655.

IF the French miniſtry had thought it prudent to bend under the Engliſh parliament, they deemed it ſtill more neceſſary to pay deference to the Protector, when he aſſumed the reins of government. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom all the French councils were directed, was artful and vigilant, ſupple and patient, falſe and intriguing; deſirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, and placing his honour more in the final ſucceſs of his meaſures than in the ſplendor and magnanimity of the means which he employed. Cromwel, by his imperious character, rather than by the advantage of his ſituation, acquired an aſcendant over this man; and each propoſal made by the Protector, however unreaſonable in itſelf and urged with whatever inſolence, met with a ready compliance from the politic and timid cardinal. Boardeaux was ſent over to England as miniſter; and every circumſtance of reſpect was payed to the daring uſurper, who had embrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign, a Prince ſo nearly related to the crown of France. With indefatigable patience did Bourdeaux conduct this negotiation, which Cromwel ſeemed entirely to neglect; and tho' privateers with Engliſh commiſſions, committed daily ravages on the French commerce, Mazarine was contented, in hopes of a fortunate iſſue, ſtill to ſubmit to theſe indignities [P].

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[P] Thurloe, Vol. iii. p. 103, 619, 653. In the treaty, which was ſigned after long negotiation, the Protector's name was inſerted before the King's in that copy which remained in England. Thurloe, Vol. vi. p. 116. See farther, Vol. vii. p. 178.

CHAP. LXI.

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IF the French miniſtry had thought it prudent to bend under the Engliſh parliament, they deemed it ſtill more neceſſary to pay deference to the Protector, when he aſſumed the reins of government. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom all the French councils were directed, was artful and vigilant, ſupple and patient, falſe and intriguing; deſirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, and placing his honour more in the final ſucceſs of his meaſures than in the ſplendor and magnanimity of the means which he employed. Cromwel, by his imperious character, rather than by the advantage of his ſituation, acquired an aſcendant over this man; and each propoſal made by the Protector, however unreaſonable in itſelf and urged with whatever inſolence, met with a ready compliance from the politic and timid cardinal. Boardeaux was ſent over to England as miniſter; and every circumſtance of reſpect was payed to the daring uſurper, who had embrued his hands in the blood of his ſovereign, a Prince ſo nearly related to the crown of France. With indefatigable patience did Bourdeaux conduct this negotiation, which Cromwel ſeemed entirely to neglect; and tho' privateers with Engliſh commiſſions, committed daily ravages on the French commerce, Mazarine was contented, in hopes of a fortunate iſſue, ſtill to ſubmit to theſe indignities [p].

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[p] Thurloe, Vol. iii. p. 103, 619, 653. In the treaty, which was ſigned after long negotiation, the Protector's name was inſerted before the King's in that copy which remained in England. Thurloe, Vol. vi. p. 116. See farther, Vol. vii. p. 178.

CHAP. LXI. 1655.

the French monarchy, had been ſtill more forward in their advances to the proſperous parliament and protector. Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spaniſh envoy, was the firſt public miniſter, who recognized the authority of the new republic; and in return of this civility, Aſcham was ſent envoy into Spain by the parliament. No ſooner had this miniſter arrived in Madrid, than ſome of the baniſhed royaliſts, inflamed by that inveterate hatred, which animated the Engliſh factions, broke into his chamber, and murdered him together with his ſecretary. Immediately, they took ſanctuary in the churches, and aſſiſted by the general favour, which every where attended the royal cauſe, were enabled, moſt of them, to make their eſcape. Only one of the criminals ſuffered death; and the parliament ſeemed to reſt contented with this atonement.

SPAIN, at this time, aſſailed every where by vigorous enemies from without, and labouring under many internal diſorders, retained nothing of her former grandeur, except the haughty pride of her councils, and the hatred and jealouſy of all her neighbours. Portugal had revolted, and eſtabliſhed its monarchy in the houſe of Braganza: Catalonia, complaining of violated privileges, had delivered itſelf over to France: Naples was ſhook with popular convulſions: The Low Countries were invaded with ſuperior forces, and ſeemed ready to change their maſter: The Spaniſh infantry, antiently ſo formidable, had been annihilated by Condé in the fields of Rocroy: and tho' the ſame Prince, baniſhed France, ſuſtained by his activity and valour, the falling fortunes of Spain, he could only hope to protract, not prevent, the ruin, with which that monarchy was viſibly threatned.

HAD Cromwel underſtood and regarded the intereſt of his country, he would have ſupported the declining condi-

condition of Spain againſt the dangerous ambition of France, and preſerved that ballance of power, on which the greatneſs and ſecurity of England ſo much depends. Had he ſtudied only his own intereſts, he would have maintained an exact neutrality between thoſe two great monarchies; nor would he ever have hazarded his ill-acquired and unſettled power, by provoking foreign enemies, who might lend aſſiſtance to domeſtic faction, and overturn his tottering throne. But his magnanimity undervalued danger: His active diſpoſition and avidity of extenſive glory, made him incapable of repoſe: And as the policy of men is continually warped by their temper, no ſooner was peace made with Holland, than he began to deliberate what new enemy he ſhould invade with his victorious arms. CHAP. LXI. 1655.

War with Spain.

THE extenſive dominion and yet extreme weakneſs of Spain in the Weſt Indies; the vigorous courage and great naval power of England; were circumſtances, which, when compared, excited the ambition of the enterprizing Protector, and made him hope, that he might, by ſome gainful conqueſt, render for ever illuſtrious that dominion, which he had aſſumed over his country. Should he fail of theſe durable acquiſitions, the Indian treaſures, which muſt every year croſs the ocean to reach Spain, were, he thought, a ſure prey to the Engliſh navy, and would ſupport his military force, without laying new burthens on the diſcontented people. From France a vigorous reſiſtance muſt be expected: No plunder, no conqueſts could be hoped for. The progreſs of his arms, even if attended with ſucceſs, muſt there be ſlow and gradual; and the advantages acquired, however real, would be leſs ſtriking to the ignorant multitude, whom it was his intereſt to allure. The royal family, ſo cloſely connected with the French monarch, might receive great aſſiſtance from that neighbouring kingdom; and an army of French proteſtants,

CHAP. LXI.

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CHAP. LXI. 1655.

landed in England, would be able, he dreaded, to unite the moſt oppoſite factions againſt the preſent uſurpation [q].

THESE motives of policy were probably ſeconded by his bigotted prejudices; as no human mind ever contained ſo ſtrange a mixture of ſagacity and abſurdity as that of this extraordinary perſonage. The Swediſh alliance, tho' much contrary to the intereſts of England, he had contracted merely from his zeal for proteſtantiſm [r]; and Sweden being cloſely connected with France, he could not hope to maintain that confederacy, in which he ſo much prided himſelf, ſhould a rupture enſue between England and this latter kingdom [s]. The Hugonots, he expected, would meet with better treatment, while he engaged in a cloſe union with their ſovereign [t]. And as the Spaniards were much more papiſts than the French, were much more expoſed to the old puritanical hatred [u], and had even erected the bloody tribunal of the inquiſition, whoſe rigors they had refuſed to mitigate, on Cromwel's ſolicitation [w]; he hoped that a holy and meritorious war with ſuch idolaters could not fail of protection from heaven [x]. A preacher likewiſe, inſpired, as was ſuppoſed, by a prophetic ſpirit, bid him *go and proſper*; calling him *a ſtone cut out of the mountains without hands, that ſhould break the pride of the Spaniard, cruſh Antichriſt, and make way for the purity of the Goſpel over the whole world* [y].

q See the account of the negotiations with France and Spain by Thurloe, Vol. i. p. 759.

r He propoſed to Sweden a general league and confederacy of all the proteſtants. Whitelocke, p. 620. Thurloe, Vol. vii. p. 1. In order to judge of the maxims, by which he conducted his foreign politics, ſee farther Thurloe, Vol. iv. p. 295, 343, 443. Vol. vii. p. 174.

s Thurloe, Vol. i. p. 759. t Id. Ibid. u Id. Ibid.

w Id. Ibid. Don Alanzo ſaid, that the Indian trade and the inquiſition were his maſter's two eyes, and the Protector inſiſted upon the putting out both of them at once. x Carrington, p. 191. y Bates.

CHAP. LXI.

1655.

ACTUATED equally by thoſe bigotted, thoſe ambitious, and thoſe intereſted motives, the Protector equipped two conſiderable ſquadrons; and while he was making theſe preparations, all the neighbouring nations, ignorant of his intentions, remained in ſuſpence, and looked with anxious expectation on what ſide the ſtorm would diſcharge itſelf. One of the ſquadrons, conſiſting of thirty capital ſhips, was ſent into the Mediterranean under Blake, whoſe fame was now ſpread over all Europe. No Engliſh fleet, except during the Croiſades, had ever before ſailed thoſe ſeas; and from one extremity to the other, there was no naval force, Chriſtian or Mahometan, able to reſiſt them. The Roman pontiff, whoſe weakneſs and whoſe pride, equally provoke attacks, dreaded invaſion from a power, which profeſſed the moſt inveterate enmity againſt him, and which ſo little regulated its movements by the common motives of intereſt and prudence. Blake, caſting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained of the Duke of Tuſcany ſatisfaction for ſome loſſes, which the Engliſh commerce had formerly ſuſtained from him. He next ſailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to make peace, and to reſtrain his pyratical ſubjects from all farther violences on the Engliſh. He preſented himſelf before Tunis, and having made the ſame demands, the Dey of that republic bade him look to the caſtles of Porto-Farino and Goletta, and do his utmoſt. Blake needed not to be rouzed by ſuch a bravado: He drew his ſhips cloſe up to the caſtles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery. He ſent a numerous detachment of ſeamen in their long boats into the harbour, and burned every ſhip which lay there. This bold action, which its very temerity, perhaps, rendered ſafe, was executed with very little loſs, and filled all that part of the world with the renown of Engliſh valour.

CHAP. LXI.

1655. Jamaica conquered.

The other ſquadron was not equally ſucceſsful. It was commanded by Pen, and carried on board 4000 men, under the command of Venables. About 5000 more joined them from Barbadoes and St. Chriſtophers. Both theſe officers were inclined to the King's ſervice [z]; and it is pretended, that Cromwel was obliged to hurry the ſoldiers on board, in order to prevent the execution of a conſpiracy, which had been formed among them, in favour of the exiled family [a]. The ill ſucceſs of this enterprize, may juſtly be aſcribed, as much to the injudicious contrivance of the Protector, who planned it, as to the bad execution of the officers, by whom it was conducted. The ſoldiers were the refuſe of the whole army: The forces inliſted in the Weſt Indies were the moſt profligate of mankind: Pen and Venables were of very incompatible tempers: The troops were not furniſhed with arms fit for ſuch an expedition: Their proviſions were very defective both in quantity and quality: All hopes of pillage, the beſt incentive to valour among ſuch men, were refuſed the ſoldiers and ſeamen: No directions nor intelligence were given to conduct the officers in their enterprize: And at the ſame time, they were tied down to follow the advice of commiſſioners, who extremely diſconcerted them in all their projects [b].

13th of April.

It was agreed by the Admiral and General to attempt St. Domingo, the only place of ſtrength in the iſland of Hiſpaniola. On the approach of the Engliſh the Spaniards in a fright deſerted their houſes, and fled into the woods. Contrary to the opinion of Venables, the ſoldiers were diſembarked without guides ten leagues diſtant from the town. They wandered four days through the woods without proviſions, and what was ſtill more intolerable in that ſultry climate, without water. The

z Clarendon. a Vita D. Berwici, p. 124.

b Burchet's Naval Hiſtory. See alſo Carte's Collection, vol. ii. p. 46, 47. Thurloe, vol. iii. p. 505.

Spaniards

Spaniards gathered courage, and attacked them. The Engliſh, diſcouraged with the bad conduct of their officers, and ſcarce alive from hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, had no ſpirit to reſiſt. A very inconſiderable number of the enemy put the whole army to rout, killed 600 of them, and chaced the reſt on board their veſſels. CHAP. XI. 1655.

THE Engliſh commanders, in order to atone, if poſſible, for this unproſperous attempt, bent their courſe to Jamaica, which was ſurrendered to them without a blow. Pen and Venables returned to England, and were both of them ſent to the Tower by the Protector, who, though commonly maſter of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent paſſion at this diſappointment. He had made a conqueſt of much greater importance, than he was himſelf at that time aware of; yet was it much inferior to the vaſt projects, which he had formed. He gave orders, however, to ſupport it by men and money; and that iſland has ever ſince remained in the hands of the Engliſh; the chief acquiſition which they owe to the enterprizing ſpirit of Cromwel.

As ſoon as the news of this enterprize, which was a moſt unwarrantable violation of treaty, arrived in Europe, the Spaniards declared war againſt England, and ſeized all the ſhips and goods of Engliſh merchants, of which they could make themſelves maſters. The Spaniſh commerce, ſo profitable to the nation, was cut off; and near 1500 veſſels, it is computed [c], fell in a few years into the hands of the enemy. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, after receiving new orders, prepared himſelf for hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards. 1656.

[c] Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 135. World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwel, in the Harl. Miſcel. vol. i.

CHAP. LXI.

1656.

SEVERAL ſea officers, having entertained ſcruples of conſcience with regard to the juſtice of the Spaniſh war, threw up their commiſſions, and retired home [d]. No command, they thought, of their ſuperiors could juſtify a war, which was contrary to the principles of natural equity, and which the civil magiſtrate had no right to order. Individuals, they maintained, in reſigning to the public their natural liberty, could beſtow on it only what they themſelves were poſſeſſed of, a right of performing lawful actions, and could inveſt it with no authority of commanding what is contrary to the decrees of heaven. Such maxims, though they ſeem reaſonable, are perhaps too perfect for human nature, and muſt be regarded as one effect, though of the moſt innocent and even honourable kind, of that ſpirit, partly fanatical, partly republican, which predominated in England.

Succeſs.

BLAKE lay ſome time off Cadiz, in expectation of intercepting the plate fleet, but was at laſt obliged, for want of water, to make ſail towards Portugal. Captain Stayner, whom he had left on the coaſt with a ſquadron of ſeven veſſels, came in ſight of the galleons,

September.

and immediately ſet ſail to purſue them. The Spaniſh admiral ran his ſhip aſhore: Two others followed his example: The Engliſh took two ſhips valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. Two galleons were ſet on fire; and the Marqueſs of Bajadox, Viceroy of Peru, with his wife and his daughter, betrothed to the young Duke of Medina Celi, were deſtroyed in them. The Marqueſs himſelf might have eſcaped; but ſeeing theſe unfortunate women, aſtoniſhed with the danger, fall in a ſwoon, and periſh in the flames, he choſe rather to die with them than drag out a life, embittered with the remembrance of theſe diſmal ſcenes [e]. When the treaſures, gained by this enterprize, arrived at Portſ-

[d] Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 570. 589. [e] Ibid. vol. v. p. 433.

mouth,

mouth, the Protector, from a ſpirit of oſtentation, ordered them to be tranſported by land to London.

1656.

THE next action againſt the Spaniards was more glorious, though leſs profitable to the nation. Blake, having heard that a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſhips, much richer than the former, had taken ſhelter in the Canaries, immediately made ſail towards them. He found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, diſpoſed in a moſt formidable poſture. The bay was ſecured with a ſtrong caſtle, well fortified with cannon, beſides ſeven forts in ſeveral parts of it, all united by a line of communication, manned with muſqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spaniſh admiral, ordered all his ſmaller veſſels to moor cloſe to the ſhore, and poſted the larger galleons farther off, at anchor, with their broadſides to the ſea.

BLAKE was rather animated than daunted with this appearance. The wind ſeconded his courage, and blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickeſt of his enemies. After a reſiſtance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to the Engliſh valour, and abandoned their ſhips, which were ſet on fire, and conſumed with all their treaſures. The greateſt danger ſtill remained to the Engliſh. They lay under the fire of the caſtles and all the forts, which muſt, in a little time, have torn them in pieces. But the wind ſuddenly ſhifting, carried them out of the bay; where they left the Spaniards in aſtoniſhment at the happy temerity of their audacious victors.

and death of admiral Blake.

THIS was the laſt and greateſt action of the gallant Blake. He was conſumed with a dropſy and ſcurvy, and haſtened home, that he might yield up his laſt breath in his native country, which he ſo paſſionately loved, and which he had ſo much adorned by his valour. As he came within ſight of land, he expired [f]. Never

[f] 20th of April, 1657.

man,

CHAP. LXI. 1656.

man, ſo zealous for a faction, was ſo much reſpected and eſteemed even by the oppoſite factions. He was by principle an inflexible Republican; and the late uſurpations, amidſt all the truſt and careſſes which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. *It is ſtill our duty*, he ſaid to the ſeamen, *to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall.* Diſintereſted, generous, liberal; ambitious only of true glory, dreadful only to his avowed enemies; he forms one of the moſt perfect characters of that age, and the leaſt ſtained with thoſe errors and violences, which were then ſo predominant. The Protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge: But the tears of his countrymen were the moſt honourable panegyric on his memory.

THE conduct of the protector in foreign affairs, tho' imprudent and impolitic, was full of vigor and enterprize, and drew a conſideration to his country, which ſince the reign of Elizabeth, it ſeemed to have totally loſt. The great mind of this ſucceſsful uſurper was intent on ſpreading the renown of the Engliſh name; and while he ſtruck mankind with aſtoniſhment at his extraordinary fortune, he ſeemed to ennoble, inſtead of debaſing, that people, whom he had reduced to ſubjection. It was his boaſt, that he would render the name of an Engliſhman as much feared and revered as ever was that of a Roman; and as his countrymen found ſome reality in theſe pretenſions, their national vanity, being gratified, made them bear with the more patience all the indignities and calamities under which they laboured.

Domeſtic adminiſtration of Cromwel.

IT muſt alſo be acknowledged, that the Protector, in his civil and domeſtic adminiſtration, diſplayed as great regard both to juſtice and clemency, as his uſurped authority, derived from no law, and founded only on the ſword, could poſſibly permit. All the chief offices in the courts

courts of judicature were filled with men of integrity: Amidſt the virulence of faction, the decrees of the judges were upright and impartial: And to every man but himſelf, and to himſelf, except where neceſſity required the contrary, the law was the great rule of conduct and behaviour. Vane and Lilburn, whoſe credit with the republicans and levellers he dreaded, were indeed for ſome time confined to priſon: Cony, who refuſed to pay illegal taxes, was obliged by menaces to depart from his obſtinacy: High courts of juſtice were erected to try thoſe who had engaged in conſpiracies and inſurrections againſt the Protector's authority, and whom he could not ſafely commit to the verdict of juries. But theſe irregularities were deemed inevitable conſequences of his illegal authority. And though often urged by his officers, as is pretended [g], to attempt a general maſſacre of the royaliſts, he always with horror rejected ſuch ſanguinary councils. CHAP. LXI. 1656.

In the army was laid the ſole baſis of the Protector's power; and in managing them conſiſted the chief art and delicacy of his government. The ſoldiers were held in the moſt exact diſcipline; a policy, which both accuſtomed them to obedience, and made them leſs hateful and burthenſome to the people. He augmented their pay; though the public neceſſities ſometimes obliged him to run in arrears to them. Their intereſts, they were ſenſible, were cloſely united with thoſe of their General and Protector. And he entirely commanded their affectionate regard, by his ability and ſucceſs in almoſt every enterprize, which he had hitherto undertaken. But all military government is precarious; much more where it ſtands in oppoſition to civil eſtabliſhments; and ſtill more, where it encounters religious prejudices. By the wild fanaticiſm, which he had nou-

[g] Clarendon, Life of Dr. Berwick, &c.

CHAP. LXI.

1656.

riſhed in the ſoldiers, he had ſeduced them into meaſures, for which, if openly propoſed to them, they would have entertained the utmoſt averſion. But this ſame ſpirit rendered them more difficult to be governed, and made their caprices terrible even to that hand which directed their movements. So often taught, that the office of King was an uſurpation upon Chriſt, they were apt to ſuſpect a Protector not to be altogether compatible with that divine authority. Harriſon, tho' raiſed to the higheſt dignity, and poſſeſſed entirely of Cromwel's confidence, became his moſt inveterate enemy as ſoon as he eſtabliſhed the authority of a ſingle perſon, againſt which he had always made ſuch violent proteſtations. Overton, Rich, Okey, officers of great rank in the army, were actuated with like principles, and Cromwel was obliged to deprive them of their commiſſions. Their influence, which was before thought unbounded among the troops, ſeemed from that moment to be totally annihilated.

The more effectually to curb the enthuſiaſtic and ſeditious ſpirit of the troops, Cromwel eſtabliſhed a kind of militia in the ſeveral counties. Companies of infantry and cavalry were inliſted under proper officers, regular pay diſtributed among them, and a reſource by that means provided both againſt the inſurrections of the royaliſts, and mutiny of the army.

Religion can never be deemed a point of ſmall conſequence in civil government: But during this period, it may be regarded as the great ſpring of men's actions and determinations. Tho' tranſported, himſelf, with the moſt frantic whimſies, Cromwel had adopted a ſcheme for regulating this principle in others which was ſagacious and politic. Being reſolved to maintain a national church, and yet determined neither to admit epiſcopacy nor preſbytery, he eſtabliſhed a number of commiſſioners,

CHAP. LXI. 1656.

miſſioners, under the name of *Tryers*, partly laymen, partly eccleſiaſtics, ſome preſbyterians, ſome independants. Theſe preſented to all livings, which were formerly in the gift of the crown; they examined and admitted ſuch perſons as received holy orders; and they inſpected the lives, doctrine and behaviour of all the clergy. Inſtead of ſupporting that union between learning and theology, which has ſo long been maintained in Europe, theſe tryers embraced the latter principle in its full purity, and made it the ſole object of their examinations. The candidates were no more perplexed with queſtions concerning their progreſs in Greek and Roman erudition; concerning their talent for profane arts and ſciences: The chief object of ſcrutiny regarded their advances in grace, and fixing the critical moment of their converſion.

WITH the pretended ſaints of all denominations Cromwel was familiar and eaſy. Laying aſide the ſtate of Protector, which, on other occaſions, he well knew how to maintain, he inſinuated to them, that nothing but neceſſity could ever induce him to inveſt himſelf with it. He talked ſpiritually to them; he ſighed, he weeped, he canted, he prayed. He even entered with them into an emulation of ghoſtly gifts; and theſe men, inſtead of grieving to be outdone in their own way, were proud, that his highneſs, by his princely example, had dignified thoſe practices in which they themſelves were daily occupied [h].

IF

[h] Cromwel followed, tho' but in part, the advice which he received from general Harriſon, at the time when the intimacy and endearment moſt ſtrongly ſubſiſted betwixt them. "Let the waiting upon Jehovah," ſaid that military ſaint, "be the greateſt and moſt conſiderable buſineſs you have every day: "Reckon it ſo, more than to eat, ſleep, and council together. Run aſide "ſometimes from your company, and get a word with the Lord. Why "ſhould not you have three or four precious ſouls always ſtanding at your el-

"bow,

CHAP. LXI.

1656.

IF Cromwel could be ſaid to adhere to any particular form of religion, they were the independants who could chiefly boaſt of his favour; and it may be affirmed, that ſuch paſtors of that ſect, as were not paſſionately addicted to civil liberty, were all of them devoted to him. The preſbyterians alſo, being ſaved from the ravages of the anabaptiſts and millenarians, and enjoying their eſtabliſhments and tythes, were not averſe to his government; tho' he ſtill entertained a great jealouſy of that ambitious and reſtleſs ſpirit, by which they were actuated. He granted an unbounded liberty of conſcience, to all but catholics and prelatiſts; and by that means, he both attached the wild ſectaries to his own perſon, and employed them in curbing the domineering ſpirit of the preſbyterians. "I am the only man," he was often heard to ſay, "who has known how to ſub-"due that inſolent ſect which can ſuffer none but it-"ſelf."

THE proteſtant zeal, which poſſeſſed the preſbyterians and independants, was highly gratified by the haughty manner, in which the Protector ſo ſucceſsfully ſupported the perſecuted proteſtants throughout all Europe. Even the duke of Savoy, ſo remote a Prince, and ſo little expoſed to the naval power of England, was obliged, by the authority of France, to comply with his mediation, and to tolerate the proteſtants of the vallies, againſt whom that prince had commenced a furious perſecution. France itſelf was conſtrained to bear, not only with the religion, but even in ſome inſtances, with the ſeditious inſolence of the Hugonots; and when that court applied for a reciprocal toleration of the catholic religion in England, the Protector, who arrogated in every thing

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Milton's State Papers, p. 12.

the

1656.

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CROMWEL retained the church of England in conſtraint; tho' he permitted its clergy a little more liberty than the republican parliament had formerly allowed. He was pleaſed, that the ſuperior lenity of his adminiſtration ſhould in every thing be remarked. He bridled the royaliſts, both by the mercenary army which he retained, and by thoſe ſecret ſpies, which he found means to intermix in all their counſels. Manning being diſcovered and puniſhed with death, he corrupted Sir Richard Willis, who was much truſted by chancellor Hyde and all the royaliſts; and by means of that man he was let into every deſign and conſpiracy of the party. He could diſconcert any project, by confining the perſons who were the actors in it; and as he reſtored them afterwards to liberty, his ſeverity paſſed only for the reſult of general jealouſy and ſuſpicion. The ſecret ſource of his intelligence remained ſtill unknown and unſuſpected.

CONSPIRACIES for an aſſaſſination he was chiefly afraid of; theſe being deſigns, which no prudence nor vigilance could evade. Colonel Titus, under the name of Allen, had wrote a very ſpirited diſcourſe, exhorting every one to embrace this method of vengeance; and Cromwel knew, that the inflamed minds of the royal party were ſufficiently diſpoſed to put this doctrine in practice againſt him. He openly told them, that aſſaſſinations were baſe and odious, and he never would commence hoſtilities by ſo ſhameful an expedient; but if the firſt attempt or provocation came from them, he would retaliate to the uttermoſt. He had inſtruments, he ſaid, whom he could employ; and he never would

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CHAP. LXI. 1656.

desist, till he had totally exterminated the royal family. This menace, more than all his guards, contributed to the security of his person [1].

There was no point about which the Protector was more sollicitous than to procure intelligence. This article alone, 'tis said, cost him sixty thousand pounds a year. Postmasters, both at home and abroad, were, many of them, in his pay: Carriers were searched or bribed: Secretaries and clerks were corrupted: The greatest zealots in all parties were often those who conveyed private information to him: And nothing could escape his vigilant enquiry. Such at least is the representation made by historians of Cromwel's administration: But it must be confessed, that, if we may judge by those volumes of Thurloe's papers, which have been lately published, this affair, like many others, has been greatly magnified. We scarce find by that collection, that any secret councils of foreign states, except those of Holland, which are not expected to be concealed, were known to the Protector.

The general behaviour and deportment of this man, who had been raised from a very private station, who had passed most of his youth in the country, and who was still constrained so much to frequent bad company, was such as might befit the greatest monarch. He maintained a dignity without either affectation or ostentation; and supported with all strangers that high idea,

[1] About this time an accident had almost robbed the Protector of his life, and saved his enemies the trouble of all their machinations. Having got six fine Friesland coach-horses as a present from the count of Oldenburg, he undertook for his amusement to drive them about Hyde-park; his secretary Thurloe being in the coach. The horses were startled and ran away: He was unable to command them, or keep the box. He fell upon the pole, was dragged upon the ground for some time; a pistol, which he carried in his pocket, went off; and by that singular good fortune, which ever attended him, he was taken up without any considerable hurt or bruise.

with

with which his great exploits and prodigious fortune had impreſſed them. Among his antient friends, he could relax himſelf; and by trifling and amuſement, jeſting and making verſes, he feared not the expoſing himſelf to their moſt familiar approaches [k]. With others, he ſometimes puſhed matters to the length of ruſtic buffoonery; and he would amuſe himſelf by putting burning coals into the boots and hoſe of the officers, who attended him [l]. Before the King's trial, a meeting was agreed on between the chiefs of the republican party and the general officers, in order to concert the model of that free government, which they were to ſubſtitute, in place of the monarchical conſtitution, now totally ſubverted. After debates on this ſubject, the moſt important, which could fall under the diſcuſſion of human creatures, Ludlow tells us, that Cromwel, by way of frolic, threw a cuſhion at his head; and when Ludlow took up another cuſhion in order to return the compliment, the General ran down ſtairs, and had almoſt broke his bones in the hurry. When the High Court of Juſtice was ſigning the King's ſentence, a matter, if poſſible, ſtill more ſerious, Cromwel taking the pen in his hand, before he ſubſcribed his name, bedaubed with ink the face of Martin, who ſat next him. And the pen being delivered to Martin, he practiſed the ſame frolic upon Cromwel [m]. He frequently gave feaſts to his inferior officers; and when the meat was ſet upon the table, a ſignal was given; the ſoldiers ruſhed in upon them; and with much noiſe, tumult, and confuſion, ran away with all the diſhes, and diſappointed the officers of their expected meal [n].

AMIDST all the unguarded play and buffoonery of this extraordinary perſonage, he took the opportunity of re-

[k] Whitelocke, p. 647. [l] Bates. [m] Tryal of the Regicides. [n] Bates.

CHAP. LXI. 1656.

marking the characters, designs, and weakneſſes of men; and he would ſometimes puſh them, by an indulgence in wine, to open to him the moſt ſecret receſſes of their boſom. Great regularity, however, and even auſterity of manners were always maintained in his court; and he was careful never by any liberties to give offence to the moſt rigid of the godly. Some ſtate was upheld; but with little expence, and without any ſplendor. The nobility, tho' courted by him, kept at a diſtance, and diſdained to intermix themſelves with thoſe mean perſons, who were the inſtruments of his government. Without departing from oeconomy, he was generous to thoſe who ſerved him; and he knew how to find out and engage in his intereſts every man poſſeſſed of thoſe talents, which any particular employment demanded. His generals, his admirals, his judges, his ambaſſadors, were perſons, who contributed, all of them, in their ſeveral ſpheres, to the ſecurity of the Protector and to the honour and intereſt of the nation.

UNDER pretence of uniting Scotland and Ireland in one Commonwealth with England, he had reduced theſe kingdoms to a total ſubjection; and he treated them entirely as conquered provinces. The civil adminiſtration of Scotland was placed in a council, conſiſting moſtly of Engliſh, of which lord Broghill was preſident. Juſtice was adminiſtred by ſeven judges, four of whom were Engliſh. In order to curb the tyrannical nobility, he both aboliſhed all vaſſalage [o] and revived the office of juſtices of peace, which King James had introduced, but was not able to ſupport [p]. A long line of forts and garriſons were maintained throughout the kingdom. An army of 10,000 men [q] kept every thing in peace and obedience, and neither the banditti of the mountains

[o] Whitelocke, p. 570. vol. vi. p. 557.

[p] Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 57.

[q] Id.

nor

nor the bigots of the low countries could indulge their inclination to turbulence and diſorder. He courted the preſbyterian clergy; though he nouriſhed that inteſtine enmity which prevailed between the reſolutioners and proteſters; and he found, that very little policy was requiſite to foſter quarrels among theologians. He permitted no church aſſemblies, being ſenſible that from thence had proceeded many of the paſt miſchiefs. And in the main, the Scots were obliged to acknowledge, that never before, while they enjoyed their irregular, factious liberty, had they attained ſo much happineſs as at preſent, when reduced to ſubjection under a foreign nation.

THE Protector's adminiſtration of Ireland was much more ſevere and violent. The government of that iſland was firſt entruſted to Fleetwood, a notorious fanatic, who had married Ireton's widow; then to Henry Cromwel, ſecond ſon to the Protector, a young man of an amiable mild diſpoſition, and not deſtitute of vigor and capacity. Five millions of acres, forfeited either by the popiſh rebellion or by the adherents of the King, were divided, partly among the adventurers, who had advanced money to the parliament, partly among the Engliſh ſoldiers, who had arrears due to them. Examples of a more ſudden and violent change of property are ſcarce to be found in any hiſtory. An order even paſſed to confine all the native Iriſh to the province of Connaught, where they would be ſhut up by rivers, lakes, and mountains, and could not, it was hoped, be any longer dangerous to the Engliſh government: But this barbarous and abſurd policy, which, from an impatience of attaining immediate ſecurity, muſt have depopulated all the other provinces, and rendered the Engliſh eſtates of no value, it was ſoon found impoſſible to reduce to practice.

CHAP. LXI.

1656.

CROMWEL began to hope, that by his adminiſtration, attended with ſo much luſtre and ſucceſs abroad, ſo much order and tranquillity at home, he had now acquired ſuch authority as would enable him to meet the repreſentatives of the nation, and would aſſure him of their dutiful compliance with his government. He therefore ſummoned a parliament; but not truſting altogether to the good will of the people, he uſed every art, which his new model of repreſentation allowed him to employ, in order to influence the elections and fill the houſe with his own creatures. Ireland, being entirely in the hands of the army, choſe none but ſuch officers as were moſt acceptable to him. Scotland ſhowed the ſame compliance; and as the nobility and gentry of that kingdom regarded their attendance on Engliſh parliaments as an ignominious badge of ſlavery, it was, on that account, more eaſy for the officers to prevail in the elections. Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, the Protector ſtill found, that the majority would not be favourable to him. He ſet guards, therefore, on the door, who permitted none to enter but ſuch as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about a hundred, who either refuſed a recognition of the Protector's government, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. Theſe proteſted againſt ſo egregious a violence, ſubverſive of all liberty; but every application for redreſs was neglected both by the council and the parliament.

New Parliament.

17th of September.

THE majority of the parliament, by means of theſe arts and violences, were now at laſt either friendly to the Protector, or reſolved, by their compliance, to adjuſt, if poſſible, this military government to their laws and liberties. They voted a renounciation of all title in Charles Stuart or any of his family; and this was the firſt act, dignified with the appearance of national conſent, which had ever had that tendency. Colonel Jephſon, in order to ſound the inclinations of the houſe, ventured

ventured to move, that the parliament ſhould beſtow the crown on Cromwel; and no ſurprize nor reluctance was diſcovered on that occaſion. When Cromwel afterwards aſked Jephſon what induced him to make ſuch a motion, "As long," ſaid Jephſon, "as I have the "honour to ſit in parliament, I muſt follow the dic-"tates of my own conſcience, whatever offence I may "be ſo unfortunate as to give you." "Get thee "gone," ſaid Cromwel, giving him a gentle blow on "the ſhoulder, get thee gone for a mad fellow as thou "art."

In order to pave the way to this advancement, for which he ſo ardently longed, Cromwel reſolved to ſacrifice his major-generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation. That meaſure was alſo become neceſſary for his own ſecurity. All government, purely military, fluctuates perpetually between a deſpotic monarchy and a deſpotic ariſtocracy, according as the authority of the chief commander prevails, or that of the officers next him in rank and dignity. The major-generals, being poſſeſſed of ſo much diſtinct juriſdiction, began to eſtabliſh a ſeparate title to power, and had rendered themſelves formidable to the Protector himſelf; and for this inconvenience, tho' he had not foreſeen it, he well knew, before it was too late, to provide a proper remedy. Claypole, his ſon-in-law, who poſſeſſed entirely his confidence, abandoned them to the pleaſure of the houſe; and tho' the name was ſtill retained, it was agreed to abridge, or rather entirely annihilate, the power of the major-generals.

At laſt, a more formal motion was made by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for inveſting the Protector with the dignity of King. This motion, at firſt, excited great diſorder, and divided the whole houſe into parties. The chief oppoſition came from the uſual adherents

CHAP. LXI.

1656.

herents of the Protector, the major-generals and such officers as depended on them. Lambert, a man of deep intrigue and of great interest in the army, had long entertained the ambition of succeeding Cromwel in the Protectorship; and he foresaw, if the monarchy was restored, that hereditary right would also be established, and the crown be transmitted to the posterity of the prince first elected. He pleaded, therefore, conscience; and exciting all those civil and religious jealousies against kingly government, which had been so industriously encouraged among the soldiers, and which served them as a pretence for so many violences, he formed a numerous and still more formidable party against the motion.

On the other hand, the motion was supported by every one, who was more particularly devoted to the Protector, and who hoped, by so acceptable a measure, to pay court to the prevailing authority. Many persons also, attached to their country, despaired of ever being able to subvert the present illegal establishment, and were desirous, by fixing it on antient foundations, to induce the Protector, from views of his own safety, to pay a regard to the antient laws and liberties of the kingdom. Even the royalists imprudently joined in the same measure; and hoped, that, when the question regarded only persons, not forms of government, no one would any longer ballance between the antient royal family, and an ignoble usurper, who, by blood, treason, and perfidy, had made his way to the throne. The bill was voted by a considerable majority; and a committee was appointed to reason with the Protector, and to overcome those scruples, which he pretended against accepting so liberal an offer.

1657.

Crown offered to Cromwel.

9th of April.

The conference lasted for several days. The committee urged, that all the statutes and customs of England were founded on the supposition of regal authority, and could not, without extreme violence, be adjusted to any other form

form of government: That a Protector, except during the minority of a king, was a name utterly unknown to the laws; and no man was acquainted with the extent or limits of his authority: That if it was attempted to define every part of his juriſdiction, many years, if not ages, would be required for the execution of ſo complicated a work; if the whole power of the King was at once transferred to him, the queſtion was plainly about a name, and the preference was undiſputably due to the antient title: That the Engliſh conſtitution was more anxious concerning the form of government than concerning the birthright of the firſt magiſtrate, and had provided, by an expreſs law of Henry VII. for the ſecurity of thoſe who act in defence of the King in being, by whatever means he might have acquired poſſeſſion: That it was extremely the intereſt of all his Highneſs's friends to ſeek the ſhelter of this ſtatute; and even the people in general were deſirous of ſuch a ſettlement, and in all juries were with great difficulty induced to give their verdict in favour of a Protector: That the great ſource of all the late commotions, had been the jealouſy of liberty; and that a republic, together with a Protector, had been eſtabliſhed in order to provide farther ſecurities for the freedom of the conſtitution; but that by experience the remedy had been found inſufficient, even dangerous and pernicious; ſince every undeterminate power, ſuch as that of a Protector, muſt be arbitrary; and the more arbitrary, as it was contrary to the genius and inclination of the people.

THE difficulty conſiſted not in perſwading Cromwel. He was ſufficiently convinced of the ſolidity of theſe reaſonings; and his inclination, as well as judgement, was intirely on the ſide of the committee. But how to bring over the army to the ſame way of thinking was the queſtion. The office of King had been painted to them in ſuch horrible

CHAP. XLI.

1657.

horrible colours, that there were no hopes of reconciling them ſuddenly to it, even though beſtowed upon their general, to whom they were ſo much devoted. A contradiction, open and direct, to all paſt profeſſions would make them paſs, in the eyes of the whole nation, for the moſt ſhameleſs hypocrites, inliſted by no other than mercenary motives in the cauſe of the moſt perfidious traitor. Principles, ſuch as they were, had been encouraged in them by every conſideration human and divine; and though it was eaſy, where intereſt concurred, to deceive them by the thinneſt diſguiſes, it might be found dangerous at once to pull off the maſque, and ſhow them in a full light the whole crime and deformity of their conduct. Suſpended between theſe fears and his own moſt ardent deſires, Cromwel protracted the time, and ſeemed ſtill to oppoſe the reaſonings of the committee; in hopes, that by artifice he might be able to reconcile the refractory minds of the ſoldiers to his new dignity.

WHILE the Protector argued ſo much in contradiction both to his judgement and inclination, it is no wonder, that his elocution, always confuſed, embarraſſed, and unintelligible, ſhould be involved in tenfold darkneſs, and diſcover no glimmering of common ſenſe or reaſon. An exact account of this conference remains, and may be regarded as a great curioſity. The members of the committee, in their reaſonings, diſcover judgement, knowlege, elocution: Lord Broghill in particular exerts himſelf on this memorable occaſion. But what a contraſt, when we paſs to the Protector's replies! After ſo ſingular a manner does nature diſtribute her talents, that, in a nation abounding with ſenſe and learning, a man, who, by ſuperior perſonal merit alone, had made his way to ſupreme dignity, and had even obliged the parliament to make him an offer of the crown, was yet

incapable of expreſſing himſelf on this occaſion, but in a manner which a peaſant of the moſt ordinary capacity would juſtly be aſhamed of [r]. CHAP. LXI. 1657.

THE oppoſition, which Cromwel dreaded, was not that which came from Lambert and his adherents, whom he now regarded as his capital enemies, and whom he was reſolved, on the firſt occaſion, to deprive of all power and authority: It was that which he met with in his own family, and from men, who, by inte-

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CHAP. XLI. 1657.

horrible colours, that there were no hopes of reconciling them ſuddenly to it, even though beſtowed upon their general, to whom they were ſo much devoted. A contradiction, open and direct, to all paſt profeſſions would make them paſs, in the eyes of the whole nation, for the moſt ſhameleſs hypocrites, inliſted by no other than mercenary motives in the cauſe of the moſt perfidious traitor. Principles, ſuch as they were, had been encouraged in them by every conſideration human and divine; and though it was eaſy, where intereſt concurred, to deceive them by the thinneſt diſguiſes, it might be found dangerous at once to pull off the maſque, and ſhow them in a full light the whole crime and deformity of their conduct. Suſpended between theſe fears and his own moſt ardent deſires, Cromwel protracted the time, and ſeemed ſtill to oppoſe the reaſonings of the committee; in hopes, that by artifice he might be able to reconcile the refractory minds of the ſoldiers to his new dignity.

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[s] Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 261.

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CHAP. LXI. 1657.

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Humble petition and advice.

CHAP. LXI. 1657.

no man could truſt himſelf without ſinking. Even the humble petition and advice, which he extolled in its turn, appeared ſo lame and imperfect, that it was found requiſite, this very ſeſſion, to mend it by a ſupplement; and after all, it may be regarded as a very crude and undigeſted model of government. It was, however, accepted for the deed of the whole people in the three united nations; and Cromwel, as if his power had juſt commenced from this popular conſent, was anew inaugurated in Weſtminſter Hall, after the moſt ſolemn and moſt pompous manner.

26th of June. THE parliament having adjourned itſelf, the Protector deprived Lambert of all his commiſſions; but ſtill allowed him a conſiderable penſion, of 2000 pounds a year, as a bribe for his future, peaceable deportment. Lambert's authority in the army, to the great ſurprize of every body, was found immediately to expire with the loſs of his commiſſion. Packer and ſome other officers, whom Cromwel ſuſpected, were alſo diſplaced.

RICHARD, eldeſt ſon to the Protector, was brought to court, introduced into public buſineſs, and henceforth regarded by many as his heir in the Protectorſhip; though Cromwel ſometimes employed the groſs artifice of flattering others with the hopes of the ſucceſſion. Richard was a perſon poſſeſſed of the moſt peaceable, inoffenſive, unambitious character; and had hitherto lived contentedly in the country on a ſmall eſtate, which his wife had brought him. The little activity, which he diſcovered, was always exerted to beneficent purpoſes: At the time of the King's trial, he had fallen on his knees before his father, and had conjured him, by all the ties of duty and humanity, to ſpare the life of that monarch. Cromwel had two daughters unmarried: One of them he now gave to the grandſon and heir of his great friend, the Earl of Warwick, with whom he had, in every

every fortune, preſerved an uninterrupted intimacy and correſpondence: The other, he married to the viſcount Falconbridge, of family, formerly devoted to the royal party. He was very ambitious of forming connexions with the nobility; and it was one chief motive of his deſiring the title of King, that he might replace every thing in its natural order, and reſtore to the antient families, that truſt and honour, of which he now found himſelf obliged, for his own preſervation, to deprive them. 1658.

THE parliament was again aſſembled; conſiſting, as in the times of monarchy, of two houſes, the commons and the other houſe. Cromwel, during the interval, had ſent writs to his houſe of peers, which conſiſted of ſixty members. They were compoſed of five or ſix antient peers, of ſeveral gentlemen of fortune and diſtinction, and of ſome officers who had riſen from the meaneſt profeſſions. None of the antient peers, however, would deign to accept a ſeat, which they muſt ſhare with ſuch companions as were aſſigned them. The Protector endeavoured at firſt to maintain the appearance of a legal magiſtrate. He removed the guards from the door of both houſes: But ſoon found how incompatible liberty is with military uſurpations. By bringing ſo great a number of his friends and adherents into the other houſe, he had loſt the majority among the national repreſentatives. In conſequence of a clauſe in the Humble Petition and Advice, the commons aſſumed a power of re-admitting thoſe members, whom the council had formerly excluded. Sir Arthur Hazelrig and ſome others, whom Cromwel had created lords, rather choſe to take their ſeats with the commons. An unconteſtable majority now declared themſelves againſt the Protector; and they refuſed to acknowledge the juriſdiction of that other houſe, which he had eſtabliſhed. Even 1658. 20th of January.

the

CHAP. LXI.

1658.

the validity of the Humble Petition and Advice was queſtioned; as being voted by a parliament, which lay under force, and which was deprived by military violence of a conſiderable number of its members. The Protector, dreading combinations between the parliament and the malecontents in the army, was reſolved to allow no leiſure for the forming any conſpiracy againſt him; and with great expreſſions of anger and diſpleaſure, he diſſolved the parliament. When urged by Fleetwood and others of his friends not to precipitate himſelf into this raſh meaſure, he ſwore by the living God, that they ſhould not ſit a moment longer. Theſe diſtractions at home were not able to take off the Protector's attention from foreign affairs; and in all his meaſures he proceeded with equal vigour and enterprize, as if ſecure of the duty and attachment of all the three kingdoms. His alliance with Sweden he ſtill ſupported; and he endeavoured to aſſiſt that crown in its ſucceſsful enterprizes, for reducing all its neighbours to ſubjection, and rendering itſelf abſolutely maſter of the Baltic. As ſoon as Spain declared war againſt him, he concluded a peace and an alliance with France, and united himſelf in all his councils with that potent and ambitious kingdom. Spain, having long courted in vain the friendſhip of the ſucceſsful uſurper, was reduced at laſt to apply to the unfortunate Prince. Charles formed a league with Philip, removed his ſmall court to Bruges in the Low Countries, and raiſed four regiments of his own ſubjects, whom he employed in the Spaniſh ſervice. The Duke of York, who had, with great applauſe, ſerved ſome campaigns in the French army, and who had merited the particular eſteem of Marſhal Turenne, now joined his brother, and continued to ſeek military experience under Don John of Auſtria and the Prince of Condé. The ſcheme of foreign politics, adopted by the Protector, was highly imprudent, but was ſuitable

4th of February.

to

CHAP. LXI.

1658.

to that magnanimity and enterprize, with which he was ſo ſignally endowed. He was particularly deſirous of conqueſt and dominion on the continent [t]; and he ſent over into Flanders ſix thouſand men under Reynolds, who joined the French army commanded by Turenne. In the former campaign, Mardyke was taken, and put into their hands. Early this campaign, ſiege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spaniſh army advanced to relieve it, the combined armies of France and England marched out of their trenches, and fought the battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated [u]. The valour of the Engliſh was much remarked on this occaſion. Dunkirk, being ſoon after ſurrendered, was by agreement delivered to Cromwel. He committed the government of that important place to Lockart, a Scotſman of ability, who had married his niece, and was his ambaſſador in the court of France.

Dunkirk taken.

THIS acquiſition was regarded by the Protector as the means only of obtaining farther advantages. He was re-

[t] He aſpired to get poſſeſſion of Elſinore and the paſſage of the Sound. See *World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwel.* He alſo endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of Bremen. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 478.

[u] It was remarked by the pretended ſaints of that time, that the battle was fought on a day which was held for a faſt in London, ſo that as Fleetwood ſaid (Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 159) while we were praying, they were fighting; and the Lord hath given a ſignal anſwer. The Lord has not only owned us in our work there, but in our waiting upon him in a way of prayer, which is indeed our old experienced approved way in all ſtreights and difficulties. Cromwel's letter to Blake and Montague, his brave admirals, is remarkable for the ſame ſpirit. Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 744. You have, ſays he, as I verily believe and am perſwaded, a plentiful ſtock of prayers going for you daily, ſent up by the ſobereſt and moſt approved miniſters and chriſtians in this nation, and, notwithſtanding ſome diſcouragements, very much wreſtling of faith for you, which are to us, and I truſt will be to you, matter of great encouragement. But notwithſtanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourſelves and all our affairs to the diſpoſition of our all-wiſe Father, who not only out of prerogative, but becauſe of his goodneſs, wiſdom and truth, ought to be reſigned unto by his creatures, eſpecially thoſe who are children of his begetting through the ſpirit, &c.

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1658.

the validity of the Humble Petition and Advice was queſtioned; as being voted by a parliament, which lay under force, and which was deprived by military violence of a conſiderable number of its members. The Protector, dreading combinations between the parliament and the malecontents in the army, was reſolved to allow no leiſure for the forming any conſpiracy againſt him; and with great expreſſions of anger and diſpleaſure, he diſſolved the parliament. When urged by Fleetwood and others of his friends not to precipitate himſelf into this raſh meaſure, he ſwore by the living God, that they ſhould not ſit a moment longer. Theſe diſtractions at home were not able to take off the Protector's attention from foreign affairs; and in all his meaſures he proceeded with equal vigour and enterprize, as if ſecure of the duty and attachment of all the three kingdoms. His alliance with Sweden he ſtill ſupported; and he endeavoured to aſſiſt that crown in its ſucceſsful enterprizes, for reducing all its neighbours to ſubjection, and rendering itſelf abſolutely maſter of the Baltic. As ſoon as Spain declared war againſt him, he concluded a peace and an alliance with France, and united himſelf in all his councils with that potent and ambitious kingdom. Spain, having long courted in vain the friendſhip of the ſucceſsful uſurper, was reduced at laſt to apply to the unfortunate Prince. Charles formed a league with Philip, removed his ſmall court to Bruges in the Low Countries, and raiſed four regiments of his own ſubjects, whom he employed in the Spaniſh ſervice. The Duke of York, who had, with great applauſe, ſerved ſome campaigns in the French army, and who had merited the particular eſteem of Marſhal Turenne, now joined his brother, and continued to ſeek military experience under Don John of Auſtria and the Prince of Condé. The ſcheme of foreign politics, adopted by the Protector, was highly imprudent, but was ſuitable

4th of February.

to

CHAP. LXI.

1658.

to that magnanimity and enterprize, with which he was ſo ſignally endowed. He was particularly deſirous of conqueſt and dominion on the continent [t]; and he ſent over into Flanders ſix thouſand men under Reynolds, who joined the French army commanded by Turenne. In the former campaign, Mardyke was taken, and put into their hands. Early this campaign, ſiege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spaniſh army advanced to relieve it, the combined armies of France and England marched out of their trenches, and fought the battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated [u]. The valour of the Engliſh was much remarked on this occaſion. Dunkirk, being ſoon after ſurrendered, was by agreement delivered to Cromwel. He committed the government of that important place to Lockart, a Scotſman of ability, who had married his niece, and was his ambaſſador in the court of France.

Dunkirk taken.

THIS acquiſition was regarded by the Protector as the means only of obtaining farther advantages. He was re-

[t] He aſpired to get poſſeſſion of Elſinore and the paſſage of the Sound. See *World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwel.* He alſo endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of Bremen. Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 478.

[u] It was remarked by the pretended ſaints of that time, that the battle was fought on a day which was held for a faſt in London, ſo that as Fleetwood ſaid (Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 159) while we were praying, they were fighting; and the Lord hath given a ſignal anſwer. The Lord has not only owned us in our work there, but in our waiting upon him in a way of prayer, which is indeed our old experienced approved way in all ſtreights and difficulties. Cromwel's letter to Blake and Montague, his brave admirals, is remarkable for the ſame ſpirit. Thurloe, vol. iv. p. 744. You have, ſays he, as I verily believe and am perſwaded, a plentiful ſtock of prayers going for you daily, ſent up by the ſobereſt and moſt approved miniſters and chriſtians in this nation, and, notwithſtanding ſome diſcouragements, very much wreſtling of faith for you, which are to us, and I truſt will be to you, matter of great encouragement. But notwithſtanding all this, it will be good for you and us to deliver up ourſelves and all our affairs to the diſpoſition of our all-wiſe Father, who not only out of prerogative, but becauſe of his goodneſs, wiſdom and truth, ought to be reſigned unto by his creatures, eſpecially thoſe who are children of his begetting through the ſpirit, &c.

ſolved

CHAP. LXI.

1658.

ſolved to concert meaſures with the French court for the final conqueſt and partition of the Low Countries [w]. Had he lived much longer, and maintained his authority in England, ſo chimerical or rather ſo dangerous a project, would certainly have been reduced to execution. And this firſt and principal ſtep towards Univerſal Monarchy, which France, during a whole century, has never yet been able, by an infinite expence of blood and treaſure, fully to effectuate, had at once been accompliſhed by the enterprizing, though unſkilful politics of Cromwel.

DURING theſe tranſactions, great demonſtrations of mutual friendſhip and regard paſſed between the French King and the Protector. Lord Falconbrige, Cromwel's ſon-in-law, was ſent over to Louis, then in the camp before Dunkirk; and was received with the ſame regard, which is uſually payed to foreign princes by the French court [x]. Mazarine ſent to London his nephew Mancini, along with the Duke of Crequi; and expreſſed his regret, that his urgent affairs ſhould deprive him of the honour, which he had long wiſhed for, of paying, in perſon, his reſpects to the greateſt man in the world [y].

THE Protector reaped little ſatisfaction from the ſucceſs of his arms abroad: The ſituation in which he ſtood at home kept him in perpetual uneaſineſs and inquietude. His adminiſtration, ſo expenſive both by military enterprizes and ſecret intelligence, had exhauſted his revenue, and involved him in a conſiderable debt. The royaliſts, he heard, had renewed their conſpiracies, for a general inſurrection; and Ormond was ſecretly

w Thurloe, vol. i. p. 762. x Ibid. vol. vii. p. 151. 158.

y In reality the cardinal had not entertained ſo high an idea of Cromwel. He uſed to ſay, that he was a fortunate madman, Vie de Cromwel par Raguenet. See alſo Carte's Collection, vol. ii. p. 81. Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 93. World's Miſtake in O, Cromwel.

come

come over with a view of concerting measures for the execution of this project. Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many heads of the presbyterians, had secretly entered into the engagement. Even the army was infected with the general spirit of discontent, and some sudden and dangerous eruption was every moment to be dreaded from them. No hopes remained, after his violent breach with the last parliament, that he would ever be able to establish, with general consent, a legal settlement, or temper the military with the mixture of any civil authority. All his arts and policy were exhausted; and having so often, by fraud and false pretences, deceived every party, and almost every individual, he could no longer hope, by repeating the same professions, to meet with equal confidence and regard. 1658.

HOWEVER zealous the royalists, their conspiracy took not effect: Willis discovered the whole to the Protector. Ormond was obliged to fly, and he deemed himself fortunate to have escaped so vigilant an administration. Great numbers were thrown into prison. An high court of justice was anew erected for the trial of such of the criminals, whose guilt was most apparent. Notwithstanding the recognition of his authority by the last parliament, the Protector could not, as yet, trust to an unbyassed jury. Sir Henry Slingsby, Dr. Huet, were condemned and beheaded. Mordaunt, brother to the Earl of Peterborow, very narrowly escaped. The numbers for his condemnation and his acquital were equal; and just as the sentence was pronounced in his favour, Colonel Pride, who was resolved to condemn him, came into the court. Ashton, Storey, and Bestley were hanged in different streets of the city.

THE conspiracy of the Millenarians in the army struck Cromwel with still greater apprehensions. Harrison and the other discarded officers of that party could not remain at rest. Stimulated equally by revenge, by ambition,

CHAP. LXI. 1658.

ambition, and by conſcience, they ſtill harboured in their mind ſome deſperate project; and there wanted not officers in the army, who, from like motives, were diſpoſed to ſecond all their undertakings. The levellers and agitators had been encouraged by Cromwel to interpoſe with their advice in all political deliberations; and he had even pretended to honour many of them with his moſt intimate friendſhip, while he conducted his daring enterprizes againſt the King and the parliament. It was an uſual practice with him, in order to familiarize himſelf the more with the agitators, who were commonly corporals or ſerjeants, to take them to bed with him, and there, after prayers and exhortations, to diſcuſs together their projects and principles, political as well as religious. Having aſſumed the dignity of Protector, he excluded them from all his councils, and had neither leiſure nor inclination to indulge them any farther in their wonted familiarities. Among thoſe who were enraged at this alteration was Sexby; an active agitator, who now employed againſt him all that reſtleſs induſtry which had formerly been exerted in his favour. He even went ſo far as to enter into a negotiation with Spain; and Cromwel, who knew the diſtempers of the army, was juſtly afraid of ſome mutiny, to which a day, an hour, an inſtant, might provide leaders.

OF aſſaſſinations likewiſe he was apprehenſive, from the zealous ſpirit, which actuated the ſoldiers. Sindercome had undertaken to murder him; and by the moſt unaccountable accidents had hitherto been prevented from executing his bloody purpoſe. His deſign was diſcovered; but the Protector could never find the bottom of the enterprize, nor detect any of his accomplices. He was tried by a jury; and notwithſtanding the general odium attending that crime, notwithſtanding the clear and full proof of his guilt, ſo little conviction prevailed of the Protector's right to the ſupreme government,

ment, it was with the utmoſt difficulty [a] that this conſpirator was condemned. When every thing was prepared for his execution, he was found dead; from poiſon, as is ſuppoſed, which he had voluntarily taken. CHAP. LXI. 1658.

THE Protector might better have ſupported thoſe fears and apprehenſions, which the public diſtempers occaſioned, had he enjoyed any domeſtic ſatisfaction, or poſſeſſed any cordial friend of his own family, in whoſe boſom he could ſafely have unloaded his anxious and corroding cares. But Fleetwood, his ſon-in-law, actuated with the wildeſt zeal, began to eſtrange himſelf from him; and was enraged to diſcover, that Cromwel, in all his enterprizes, had entertained views of promoting his own grandeur, more than of encouraging piety and religion, of which he made ſuch fervent profeſſions. His eldeſt daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles ſo vehement, that ſhe could not with patience behold power lodged in a ſingle perſon, even in her indulgent father. His other daughters were no leſs prejudiced in favour of the royal cauſe, and regreted the violences and iniquities, into which, they thought, their family had ſo unhappily been tranſported. But above all, the ſickneſs of Mrs. Claypole, his peculiar favorite, a lady endued with every humane virtue and amiable accompliſhment, depreſſed his anxious mind, and poiſoned all his enjoyments. She had entertained an high regard for Dr. Huet, lately executed; and being refuſed his pardon, the melancholy of her temper, encreaſed by her diſtempered body, had prompted her to lament to her father all his ſanguinary meaſures, and urge him to compunction for thoſe heinous crimes, into which his fatal ambition had betrayed him. Her death, which followed ſoon after, gave new edge to every word, which ſhe had uttered.

[a] Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 53.

CHAP. LXI.

1658. ALL compoſure of mind was now for ever fled from the Protector: He found, that the grandeur, which he had attained with ſo much guilt and courage, could not enſure him that tranquillity, which it belongs to virtue alone, and moderation fully to aſcertain. Overwhelmed with the load of public affairs, dreading perpetually ſome fatal accident in his diſtempered government, ſeeing nothing around him but treacherous friends or enraged enemies, poſſeſſing the confidence of no party, reſting his title on no principle, civil or religious, his power he found to depend on ſo delicate a poize of factions and intereſts, as the ſmalleſt event was able, without any preparation, in a moment to overturn. Death too, which, with ſuch ſignal intrepidity, he had braved in the field, being inceſſantly threatened by the poniards of fanatical or intereſted aſſaſſins, was ever preſent to his terrified apprehenſions, and haunted him in every ſcene of buſineſs or repoſe. Each action of his life betrayed the terrors under which he laboured. The aſpect of ſtrangers was uneaſy to him: With a piercing and anxious eye he ſurveyed every face, to which he was not daily accuſtomed. He never moved a ſtep without ſtrong guards attending him: He wore armour under his cloaths, and farther ſecured himſelf by offenſive weapons, a ſword, falchion, and piſtols, which he always carried about him. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the ſame way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Seldom he ſlept above three nights together in the ſame chamber: And he never let it be known beforehand what chamber he intended to chooſe, nor entruſted himſelf in any, which was not provided with backdoors, at which ſentinels were carefully placed. Society terrified him, while he reflected on his numerous, unknown, and implacable enemies: Solitude aſtoniſhed him, by withdrawing that protection, which he found ſo neceſſary for his ſecurity.

HIS

CHAP. LXI.

1658. Sickneſs of the Protector.

His body alſo, from the contagion of his anxious mind, began to be affected; and his health ſeemed very ſenſible to decline. He was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the ſpace of a week, no dangerous ſymptoms appeared; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length, the fever encreaſed, and he himſelf began to entertain ſome thoughts of death, and to caſt his eye towards that future exiſtence, whoſe idea had once been intimately preſent to him; though ſince, in the hurry of affairs, and the ſhock of wars and factions, it had, no doubt, been conſiderably obliterated. He aſked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine was true, that the elect could never fall or ſuffer a final reprobation. "Nothing more certain," replied the preacher. "Then am I ſafe," ſaid the Protector: "For "I am ſure that once I was in a ſtate of grace."

His phyſicians were ſenſible of the perilous condition, to which his diſtemper had reduced him: But his chaplains, by their prayers, viſions, and revelations, ſo buoyed up his hopes, that he began to believe his life out of all danger. A favourable anſwer, it was pretended, had been returned by heaven to the petitions of all the godly; and he relied on their aſſeverations much more than on the opinion of the moſt experienced phyſicians. "I tell you," he cried with confidence to the latter, "I ſhall not die of this diſtemper: I am well "aſſured of my recovery. It is promiſed by the Lord, "not only to my ſupplications, but alſo to that of men "who hold a ſtricter commerce and more intimate cor-"reſpondence with him. Ye may have ſkill in your "profeſſion; but nature can do more than all the phy-"ſicians in the world, and God is far above nature [b]." Nay, to ſuch a degree of madneſs did their enthuſiaſtic

[b] Bates: See alſo Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 355. 416.

CHAP. LXI.

1658.

assurances mount, that upon a fast day, which was observed, on his account, both at Hampton Court and at Whitehall, they did not so much pray for his health, as give thanks for the undoubted pledges, which they had received of his recovery. He himself was overheard offering up his addresses to heaven; and so far had the illusions of fanaticism prevailed over the plainest dictates of natural morality, that he assumed more the character of a mediator, in interceding for his people, than that of a criminal, whose atrocious violation of social duty had, from every tribunal, human and divine, merited the severest vengeance.

MEANWHILE all the symptoms began to wear a more fatal aspect; and the physicians were obliged to break silence, and to declare that the Protector could not survive the next fit, with which he was threatened. The council was alarmed. A deputation was sent to know his will with regard to his successor. His senses were gone, and he could not now express his intentions. They asked him whether he did not mean, that his eldest son, Richard, should succeed him in the Protectorship. A simple affirmative was, or seemed to be extorted from him. Soon after, on the 3d of September, that very day, which he had always considered as the most fortunate to him, he expired. A violent tempest, which immediately succeeded his death, served as a subject of discourse to the vulgar. His partizans, as well as his opponents, were fond of remarking this event; and each of them endeavoured, by forced inferences, to interpret it as confirmation of their particular prejudices.

His death,

THE writers, attached to the memory of this wonderful person, make his character, with regard to abilities, bear the air of the most extravagant panegyric: His enemies form such a representation of his moral qualities as resembles the most virulent invective. Both of them,

and character.

them, it must be confessed, are supported by such striking circumstances in his conduct and fortune as bestow on their representation a great air of probability. "What can be more extraordinary," it is said [c], "than "that a person, of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have "sometimes, nor shining talents of mind, which have "often raised men to the highest dignities, should have "the courage to attempt and the abilities to execute so "extraordinary a design as the subverting one of the "most antient and best established monarchies in the "world? That he should have the power and boldness "to put his Prince and master to an open and infamous "death? Should banish that numerous and strongly "allied family? Cover all these temerities under a "seeming obedience to a parliament, in whose service "he pretended to be retained? Trample too upon that "parliament in their turn, and scornfully expel them "so soon as they gave him ground of dissatisfaction? "Erect in their place the dominion of the saints, and give "reality to the most visionary idea, which the heated "imagination of any fanatic was ever able to entertain? Suppress again that monster in its infancy, and "openly set up himself above all things that ever were "called sovereign in England? Overcome first all his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterwards by artifice? "Serve all parties patiently for a while, and command "them victoriously at last? Over-run each corner of the "three nations, and subdue with equal facility, both the "riches of the south, and the poverty of the north? Be "feared and courted by all foreign princes, and be "adopted a brother to the gods of the earth? Call together parliaments with a word of his pen, and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth? Re-

[c] Cowley's Discourses: This passage is altered in some particulars from the original.

CHAP. LXI. 1658.

"duce to ſubjection a warlike and diſcontented na-
"tion, by means of a mutinous army? Command a
"mutinous army by means of ſeditious and factious
"officers? Be humbly and daily petitioned, that he
"would be pleaſed, at the rate of millions a year, to be
"hired as maſter of thoſe who had hired him before to
"be their ſervant? Have the eſtates and lives of three
"nations as much at his diſpoſal as was once the little
"inheritance of his father, and be as noble and liberal
"in the ſpending of them? And laſtly (for there is no
"end of enumerating every particular of his glory)
"with one word bequeath all this power and ſplendor
"to his poſterity? Die poſſeſſed of peace at home and
"triumph abroad? Be buried among kings, and with
"more than regal ſolemnity? And leave a name be-
"hind him not to be extinguiſhed but with the
"whole world; which as it was too little for his
"praiſe, ſo might it have been for his conqueſts, if the
"ſhort line of his mortal life could have ſtretched out
"to the extent of his immortal deſigns?"

MY intention is not to diſfigure this picture, drawn by ſo maſterly a hand: I ſhall only endeavour to remove from it ſomewhat of the marvellous; a circumſtance which, on all occaſions, gives much ground for doubt and ſuſpicion. It ſeems to me, that the circumſtance of Cromwel's life, in which his abilities are principally diſcovered, is his riſing from a private ſtation, in oppoſition to ſo many rivals, ſo much advanced before him, to a high command and authority in the army. His great courage, his ſignal military talents, his eminent dexterity and addreſs, were all requiſite for this important acquiſition. Yet will not this promotion appear the effect of ſupernatural abilities, when we conſider, that Fairfax himſelf, a private gentleman, who had not the advantage of a ſeat in parliament, had, thro' the ſame ſteps, attained even a ſuperior rank, and, if indued with common

common capacity and penetration, had been able to retain it. To incite ſuch an army to rebellion againſt the parliament, required no uncommon art or induſtry: To have kept them in obedience had been the more difficult enterprize. When the breach was once formed between the military and civil powers, a ſupreme and abſolute authority, from that moment is devolved on the general; and if he is afterwards pleaſed to employ artifice or policy, it may be regarded, on moſt occaſions, as great condeſcenſion, if not as a ſuperfluous caution. That Cromwel was ever able really to blind or overreach, either the King or the republicans, does not appear: As they poſſeſſed no means of reſiſting the force under his command, they were glad to temporize with him, and, by ſeeming to be deceived, wait for opportunities of freeing themſelves from his dominion. If he ſeduced the military fanatics, it is to be conſidered, that their intereſt and his evidently concurred, that their ignorance and low education expoſed them to the groſſeſt impoſition, and that he himſelf was at bottom as frantic an enthuſiaſt as the worſt of them, and, in order to obtain their confidence, needed but to diſplay thoſe vulgar and ridiculous habits, which he had early acquired, and on which he ſet ſo high a value. An army is ſo forcible, and at the ſame time ſo coarſe a weapon, that any hand which wields it, may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any aſcendant in human ſociety.

THE domeſtic adminiſtration of Cromwel, though it diſcovers great ability, was conducted without any plan either of liberty or arbitrary power: Perhaps, his difficult ſituation admitted of neither. His foreign enterprizes, though full of intrepidity, were pernicious to national intereſt, and ſeem more the reſult of impetuous fury or narrow prejudices, than of cool foreſight and deliberation. An eminent perſonage however, he was

in

CHAP. LXI.

1658.

in many reſpects, and even a ſuperior genius; but unequal and irregular in his operations. And though not defective in any talent, except that of elocution, the abilities, which in him were moſt admirable, and which moſt contributed to his marvellous ſucceſs, were the magnanimous reſolution of his enterprizes, and his peculiar dexterity in diſcovering the characters, and practiſing on the weakneſſes of mankind.

IF we ſurvey the moral character of Cromwel with that indulgence, which is due to the blindneſs and infirmities of the human ſpecies, we ſhall not be inclined to load his memory with ſuch violent reproaches as thoſe which his enemies uſually throw upon it. Amidſt the paſſion and prejudices of that time, that he ſhould prefer the parliamentary to the royal cauſe, will not appear very extraordinary; ſince, even at preſent, many men of ſenſe and knowledge are diſpoſed to think, that the queſtion with regard to the juſtice of the quarrel may be regarded as very doubtful and ambiguous. The murder of the King, the moſt atrocious of all his actions, was to him covered under a mighty cloud of republican and fanatical illuſions; and it is not impoſſible, that he might believe it, as many others did, the moſt meritorious action, which he could perform. His ſubſequent uſurpation was the effect of neceſſity, as well as of ambition; nor is it eaſy to ſee, how the various factions could at that time have been reſtrained, without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. The private deportment of Cromwel, as a ſon, a huſband, a father, a friend, is expoſed to no conſiderable cenſure, if it does not rather merit praiſe. And upon the whole, his character does not appear more extraordinary and unuſual by the mixture of ſo much abſurdity with ſo much penetration, than by his tempering ſuch violent ambition and ſuch enraged fanaticiſm with ſo much regard to juſtice and humanity.

CROMWEL was in the fifty-ninth year of his age when he died. He was of a romantic frame of body, and of a manly, though not an agreeable aſpect. He left only two ſons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters; one married to General Fleetwood, another to Lord Falconbridge, a third to Lord Rich. His father died when he was young. His mother lived till after he was Protector; and, contrary to her orders, he buried her with great pomp in Weſtminſter Abbey. She could not be perſuaded, that his power or perſon was ever in ſecurity. At every noiſe, which ſhe heard, ſhe exclaimed, that her ſon was murdered; and was never ſatisfied that he was alive, if ſhe did not receive frequent viſits from him. She was a decent woman; and by her frugality and induſtry had raiſed and educated a numerous family upon a ſmall fortune. She had even been obliged to ſet up a brewery at Huntington, which ſhe managed to good advantage. Hence Cromwel, in the invectives of that age, is often ſtigmatized with the name of the Brewer. Ludlow, by way of inſult, mentions the great acceſſion, which he would receive to his royal revenues upon his mother's death, who poſſeſſed a jointure of ſixty pounds a year upon his eſtate. She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart; remotely allied, as is by ſome ſuppoſed, to the royal family.

CHAP. LXI. 1658.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXII.

Richard acknowleged Protector.——A Parliament.—Cabal of Wallingford House.——Richard deposed. Long Parliament or Rump restored.——Conspiracy of the Royalists.——Insurrection.——Suppressed.—Parliament expelled.—Committee of safety.—Foreign Affairs.——General Monk.——Monk declares for the Parliament.——Parliament restored.——Monk enters London, declares for a free Parliament.——Secluded Members restored.——Long Parliament dissolved.——New Parliament.—The Restoration.——Manners and Arts.

CHAP. LXII. 1658.

ALL the arts of Cromwel's policy had been so often practised, that they began to lose their effect; and his authority, instead of being confirmed by time and success, seemed every day to become more uncertain and precarious. His friends the most closely connected with him, and his counsellors the most trusted, were entering into cabals against his authority; and with all his penetration into the characters of men, he could not find any ministers, on whom he could rely. Men of strict probity and honour, he knew, would not submit to be instruments of an usurpation, violent and illegal: Those, who were free from the restraint of principle, might betray, for interest, that cause, in which, from no better motives, they had inlisted themselves. Even those, on whom he conferred any favour, never esteemed the recompence sufficient for the sacrifices, which they made to obtain it: Whoever was refused any

any demand, justified his anger by the specious colours of conscience and of duty. Such difficulties surrounded the Protector, that his dying at so critical a time, is deemed by many the most fortunate circumstance that ever attended him; and it was thought that all his courage and dexterity could not much longer have extended his usurped administration. CHAP. LXII. 1658.

But when that potent hand was removed, which conducted the government, every one expected a sudden dissolution of the unweildy and ill-jointed fabric. Richard, a young man of no experience, educated in the country, accustomed to a retired life, unacquainted with the officers and unknown to them, recommended by no military exploits, endeared by no familiarities, could not long, it was thought, maintain that authority, which his father had acquired by so many valorous atchievements, and such signal successes. And when it was observed, that he possessed only the virtues of private life, which in his situation were so many vices; that indolence, incapacity, irresolution attended his facility and good nature; the various hopes of men were excited by the expectation of some great event or revolution. For some time, however, the public was disappointed in this opinion. The council recognized the succession of Richard: Fleetwood, in whose favour, it was supposed, Cromwel had formerly made a will, renounced all claim or pretension to the Protectorship: Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with great popularity, ensured him the obedience of that kingdom: Monk, whose authority was well established in Scotland, being much attached to his family, immediately proclaimed the new Protector: The army, every where, the fleet, acknowleged his title: Above ninety addresses, from the counties and most considerable corporations, congratulated him on his accession, Richard acknowleged Protector.

in

CHAP. LXII.

1658. in all the terms of dutiful allegiance: Foreign miniſters were forward in paying him the uſual compliments: And Richard, whoſe moderate, unambitious character, never would have led him to contend for empire, was tempted to accept of ſo rich a ſucceſſion, which ſeemed to be tendered to him, by the conſent of all mankind.

A parliament.

IT was found neceſſary to call a parliament, in order to furniſh ſupplies, both for the ordinary adminiſtration, and for fulfilling thoſe engagements with foreign Princes, particularly Sweden, into which the laſt Protector had entered. In hopes of obtaining greater influence on elections, the antient right was reſtored to all the ſmall burroughs; and the counties were allowed

1659. no more than their accuſtomed members. The Houſe of Peers or the other Houſe conſiſted of the ſame perſons, who had been nominated by Oliver.

7th of January.

ALL the commons, at firſt, ſigned without heſitation an engagement not to alter the preſent government. They next proceeded to examine the humble petition and advice; and after great oppoſition and many vehement diſputes, it was, at laſt, with much difficulty, carried by the court-party to confirm it. An acknowlegement too of the authority of the other houſe was extorted from them; tho' it was reſolved not to treat this houſe of peers with any greater reſpect than they ſhould return to the commons. A declaration was alſo made, that the eſtabliſhment of the other houſe ſhould no way prejudice the right of ſuch of the antient peers as had, from the beginning of the war, adhered to the parliament. In all parliamentary tranſactions, the oppoſition among the commons was ſo conſiderable, and the debates were ſo prolonged, as much retarded all buſineſs, and gave great alarm to the partizans of the young Protector.

BUT

CHAP. LXII.

1659.

BUT there was another quarter from which greater dangers were juſtly apprehended. The moſt conſiderable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood, brother-in-law to the Protector, were entering into cabals againſt him. No character in human ſociety is more dangerous than that of the fanatic; becauſe, if attended with weak judgment, he is expoſed to the ſuggeſtions of others; if ſupported by more diſcernment, he is entirely governed by his own illuſions, which ſanctify his moſt ſelfiſh views and paſſions. Fleetwood was of the former ſpecies; and being extremely addicted to a republic and even to the fifth monarchy or dominion of the ſaints, it was eaſy for thoſe, who had inſinuated themſelves into his confidence, to inſtil diſguſts againſt the dignity of Protector. The whole republican party in the army, which were ſtill conſiderable, Fitz, Maſon, Moſs, Farley, united themſelves to that general. The officers too of the ſame party, whom Cromwel had diſcarded, Overton, Ludlow, Rich, Okey, Alured, began to appear, and to recover that authority, which had been only for a time ſuſpended. A party likewiſe, who found themſelves eclipſed in Richard's favour, Sydenham, Kelſey, Berry, Haines, joined the cabal of the others. Even Deſborow, the Protector's uncle, lent his authority to that faction. But above all, the intrigues of Lambert, who was now rouzed from his retreat, inflamed all theſe dangerous humours, and threatened the nation with ſome great convulſion. All the diſcontented officers eſtabliſhed their meetings at Fleetwood's lodgings; and becauſe he dwelt in Wallingford-houſe, the party received a denomination from that place.

Cabal of Wallingford Houſe.

RICHARD, who poſſeſſed neither reſolution nor penetration, was prevailed with to give an unguarded conſent for calling a council of general officers, who might make him propoſals, as they pretended, for the good of the army.

CHAP. LXII.

army. No ſooner were they aſſembled than they voted a remonſtrance. They there lamented, that *the good old cauſe*, as they termed it, that is, the cauſe, for which they had engaged againſt the King, was entirely neglected; and they propoſed as a remedy, that the whole military power, the command of the armies, ſhould be entruſted to ſome perſon, in whom they might all confide. The city militia, influenced by two aldermen, Tichburn and Ireton, expreſſed the ſame reſolution of adhering to *the good old cauſe*.

1659.

The Protector was very juſtly alarmed at thoſe movements among the officers. The perſons, in whom he chiefly confided, were all of them, excepting Broghill, men of civil characters and profeſſions; Fiennes, Thurloe, Whitlocke, Wolſeley; who could only aſſiſt him with their advice and opinion. He poſſeſſed none of thoſe arts, which were proper to gain an enthuſiaſtic army. Murmurs being thrown out againſt ſome promotions, which he had made, *Would you have me*, ſaid he, *prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldſby*, continued he, *who can neither pray nor preach; yet will I truſt him before ye all* [a]. This imprudence gave great offence to the pretended ſaints. The other qualities of the Protector were laudable: He was of a gentle, humane, and generous diſpoſition. Some of his party offering to put an end to theſe intrigues by the death of Lambert, if he would give them authority, he declared, that he would not purchaſe power or dominion by ſuch ſanguinary meaſures.

The parliament was no leſs alarmed at the military cabals. They voted, that there ſhould be no meeting or general council of officers without the Protector's conſent, or by his orders. This vote brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The officers haſtened to Ri-

[a] Ludlow.

chard, and demanded of him the diſſolution of the parliament. Deſborow, a man of a clowniſh and brutal nature, threatened him if he ſhould refuſe. The Protector wanted the reſolution to deny, and poſſeſſed little ability to reſiſt. The parliament was diſſolved; and by the ſame act the Protector was by every one conſidered as effectually dethroned. Soon after, he ſigned his diſmiſſion in form.

CHAP. LXII. 1659.

22d of April. Richard depoſed.

HENRY, the deputy of Ireland, was endowed with the ſame moderate diſpoſition as Richard; but as he enjoyed more vigour and capacity, it was apprehended, that he might make reſiſtance. His popularity in Ireland was great; and even his perſonal authority, notwithſtanding his youth, was conſiderable. Had his ambition been very eager, he had, no doubt, been able to create diſturbance: But being threatened by Sir Hardreſs Waller, Colonel John Jones, and other officers, he very quietly reſigned his command, and retired to England. He had once entertained thoughts, which he had not reſolution to execute, of proclaiming the King in Dublin [b].

THUS fell, ſuddenly and from an enormous height, but, by a rare fortune, without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwels. Richard continued to poſſeſs an eſtate, which was very moderate, and burdened too with a large debt, which he had contracted for the interment of his father. After the reſtoration, tho' he remained unmoleſted, he thought proper to travel for ſome years; and at Pezenas in Languedoc he was introduced under a borrowed name to the Prince of Conti. That Prince, talking of Engliſh affairs, broke out into admiration of Cromwel's courage and capacity. "But "as for that poor pitiful fellow, Richard," ſaid he, "what has become of him? How could he be ſuch a

[b] Cate's Collections, vol. ii. p. 243.

CHAP. LXII.

1659.

"blockhead as to reap no greater benefit from all his "father's crimes and ſucceſſes?" Richard extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age, and died not till the latter end of Queen Anne's reign. His ſocial virtues, more valuable than the greateſt capacity, met with a recompence, more precious than noiſy fame and more ſuitable, contentment and tranquillity.

THE council of officers, now poſſeſſed of ſupreme authority, deliberated what form of government they ſhould eſtabliſh. Many of them ſeemed inclined to exerciſe the power of the ſword in the moſt open manner: but as it was apprehended, that the people would with great difficulty be induced to pay taxes, levied by arbitrary will and pleaſure; it was agreed to preſerve the ſhadow of civil adminiſtration, and to revive the long parliament, which had been expelled by Cromwel. They could not be diſſolved, it was aſſerted, but by their own conſent; and violence had interrupted, but was not able to deſtroy, their right to government. The officers alſo expected, that as theſe members had ſufficiently felt their own weakneſs, they would be contented to act in ſubordination to the military commanders, and would thenceforth allow all the authority to remain where the power was ſo viſibly veſted.

THE officers applied to Lenthal, the ſpeaker, and propoſed to him, that the parliament ſhould reſume their ſeats. Lenthal was a man of a low and timid ſpirit; and being uncertain what iſſue might attend theſe councils, was deſirous of evading the propoſal. He replied, that he could by no means comply with the deſire of the officers; being engaged in a buſineſs of a far greater importance to himſelf, which he could not omit on any account, becauſe it concerned the ſalvation of his own ſoul. The officers preſſed him to know what it might be. He was preparing, he ſaid, to participate of the Lord's

Lord's Supper, which he reſolved to take the next ſabbath day. They inſiſted, that mercy was preferable to ſacrifice, and that he could not better prepare himſelf for that great duty, than by contributing to the public good. All their remonſtrances had no effect. However, on the appointed day, the ſpeaker, being informed, that a quorum of the houſe was likely to meet, thought proper, notwithſtanding the ſalvation of his ſoul, as Ludlow obſerves, to join them; and the houſe immediately proceeded upon buſineſs. The ſecluded members attempted, but in vain, to reſume their ſeats among them.

CHAP. LXII. 1659.

Long parliament or Rump reſtored.

THE numbers of this parliament were very ſmall, little exceeding forty members: Their authority in the nation, ever ſince they had been purged by the army, was extremely diminiſhed; and after their expulſion, had been totally annihilated: But being all of them men of violent ambition; ſome of them men of experience and capacity; they were reſolved, ſince they enjoyed the title of the ſupreme authority, and obſerved that ſome appearance of a parliament was requiſite for the purpoſes of the army, not to act a ſubordinate part to thoſe who acknowleged themſelves their ſervants. They choſe a council, in which they took care that the officers of Wallingford-houſe ſhould not be the majority: They appointed Fleetwood to be lieutenant-general, but inſerted in his commiſſion, that it ſhould only continue during the pleaſure of the houſe: They choſe ſeven perſons, who ſhould nominate to ſuch commands as became vacant: And they voted, that all commiſſions ſhould be received from the ſpeaker, and be ſigned by him in the name of the parliament. Theſe precautions, the tendency of which was viſible, gave great diſguſt to the general officers; and their diſcontent would have broke out into ſome reſolution, fatal to the parliament,

CHAP. XLII.

had it not been checked by the apprehenſions of danger from the common enemy.

1659.

THE bulk of the nation conſiſted of royaliſts and preſbyterians; and to both theſe parties the dominion of the pretended parliament had ever been to the laſt degree odious. When this parliament was expelled by Cromwel, contempt had ſucceeded to hatred; and no reſerve had been uſed in expreſſing the utmoſt deriſion againſt the impotent ambition of theſe uſurpers. Seeing them reinſtated in authority, all orders of men felt the higheſt indignation; together with apprehenſions leſt ſuch tyrannical rulers ſhould exert their power in taking vengeance upon their enemies, by whom they had been ſo openly inſulted. A ſecret reconcilement therefore, was made between the rival parties; and it was agreed, that, laying aſide former enmities, all efforts ſhould be uſed for the overthrow of the Rump: For ſo they called the parliament, in alluſion to that part of the animal body. The preſbyterians, ſenſible from experience, that their paſſion for liberty, however laudable, had carried them into unwarrantable extremes, were willing to lay aſide former jealouſies, and, at all hazards, to reſtore the royal family. The nobility, the gentry bent their moſt paſſionate endeavours to the ſame enterprize, by which alone they could be redeemed from ſlavery. And no man was ſo remote from party, ſo indifferent to public good, as not to feel the moſt ardent wiſhes, for the diſſolution of that tyranny, which, whether the civil or the military part of it be conſidered, was equally oppreſſive and ruinous to the nation.

Conſpiracy of the royaliſts.

MORDAUNT, who had ſo narrowly eſcaped on his trial, before the high-court of juſtice, ſeemed rather animated than daunted with paſt danger; and having, by his reſolute behaviour, obtained the higheſt confidence of the royal party, he was now become the center of all their

their conſpiracies. In many counties, a reſolution was taken to riſe in arms. Lord Willoughby of Parham and Sir Horatio Townſhend undertook to ſecure Lynne: General Maſſey engaged to ſeize Gloceſter: Lord Newport, Littleton, and other gentlemen conſpired to take poſſeſſion of Shrewſbury; Sir George Booth of Cheſter; Sir Thomas Middleton of North-Wales; Arundel, Pollard, Granville, Trelawney, of Plymouth and Exeter. A day was appointed for the execution of all theſe enterprizes. And the King attended by the Duke of York, had arrived ſecretly at Calais, with a reſolution of putting himſelf at the head of his loyal ſubjects. The French had promiſed to ſupply him with a ſmall body of forces, in order to countenance the inſurrections of the Engliſh. CHAP. LXII. 1659.

THIS combination was diſconcerted by the infidelity of Sir Richard Willis. That traitor continued with the parliament the ſame correſpondence, which he had begun with Cromwel. He had engaged to reveal all conſpiracies, ſo far as to deſtroy their effect; but reſerved to himſelf, if he pleaſed, the power of concealing the conſpirators. He took care never to name any of the old, genuine cavaliers, who had zealouſly adhered, and were reſolved ſtill to adhere, to the royal cauſe in every fortune. Theſe men he eſteemed; theſe he even loved. He betrayed only the new converts among the preſbyterians, or ſuch lukewarm royaliſts, as, diſcouraged with their diſappointments, were reſolved to expoſe themſelves to no more hazards. A lively proof, how impoſſible it is, even for the moſt corrupted minds, to diveſt themſelves of all regard to morality and ſocial duty!

MANY of the conſpirators in the different counties were thrown into priſon: Others, aſtoniſhed at ſuch ſymptoms of ſecret treachery, left their houſes or remained quiet: The moſt tempeſtuous weather prevailed during the whole time appointed for the rendevouzes; July.

CHAP. LXII. 1659.

insomuch that some found it impossible to join their friends, and others were dismayed with fear and superstition at an incident so unusual during the summer season. Of all the projects, the only one which took effect was that of Sir George Booth for the seizing of Chester. The Earl of Derby, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Mr. Lee, Colonel Morgan took part in his enterprize. Sir William Middleton joined him with some troops from North Wales; and the insurgents were powerful enough to subdue all in that neighbourhood, who ventured to oppose them. In their declaration they made no mention of the King: They only demanded a free and full parliament.

THE Rump were justly alarmed. How combustible the materials were they well knew; and the fire was now fallen among them. Booth was of a family eminently presbyterian; and his conjunction with the royalists they regarded as a most dangerous symptom. They had many officers, whose fidelity they could more depend upon than that of Lambert: But there was no-one in whose vigilance and capacity they reposed such confidence. They commissioned him to suppress the insurgents. He made incredible haste. Booth imprudently ventured himself out of the walls of Chester, and exposed, in the open field, his raw troops against these hardy veterans. He was soon routed and taken prisoner. His whole party were dispersed. And the parliament had no farther occupation than to fill all the prisons with their open or secret enemies. Designs were even entertained of transporting the loyal families to Barbadoes, Jamaica, and the other colonies; lest they should propagate in England children of the same malignant affections with themselves.

Suppressed.

THIS success hastened the ruin of the parliament. Lambert, at the head of a body of troops, was no less dangerous to them than Booth. A thousand pounds, which

which they ſent him to buy a jewel, were employed by him in liberalities to his officers. At his inſtigation they drew up a petition, and tranſmitted it to Fleetwood, a weak man, and an honeſt, if ſincerity in folly deſerves that honourable name. The import of this petition was, that Fleetwood ſhould be made commander in chief, Lambert major-general, Deſborow lieutenant-general of the horſe, Monk major-general of the foot. To which, a demand was added, that no officer ſhould be diſmiſſed from his command but by a court-martial. CHAP. LXII. 1659.

THE parliament, alarmed at the danger, immediately caſhiered Lambert, Deſborow, Berry, Clarke, Barrow, Kelſey, Cobbet. Sir Arthur Hazelrig propoſed the impeachment of Lambert for high treaſon. Fleetwood's commiſſion was vacated, and the command of the army was veſted in ſeven perſons, of whom that general was one. The parliament voted, that they would have no more general officers. And they declared it high treaſon to levy any money without conſent of parliament.

BUT theſe votes were feeble weapons in oppoſition to the ſwords of the ſoldiery. Lambert drew ſome troops together, in order to decide the controverſy. Okey, who was leading his regiment to the aſſiſtance of the parliament, was deſerted by them. Morley and Moſs brought their regiments into Palace-yard, reſolute to oppoſe the violence of Lambert. But that artful general knew an eaſy way of diſappointing them. He placed his ſoldiers in the ſtreets which led to Weſtminſter-hall. When the ſpeaker came in his coach, he ordered the horſes to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were in like manner intercepted. And the two regiments in Palace-yard, finding themſelves expoſed to deriſion, peaceably retired to their quarters. A very little before this bold enterprize, a ſolemn faſt had been kept by the army; and it is remarked,

13th of October.

Parliament expelled.

CHAP. LXII.

that this ceremony was the uſual prelude to every ſignal violence which they committed.

1659.

THE officers found themſelves again inveſted with ſupreme authority, of which they intended for ever to retain the ſubſtance, however they might beſtow on others the empty ſhadow or appearance. They elected a committee of twenty-three perſons, of whom ſeven were officers. Theſe they pretended to inveſt with ſovereign authority; and called them a committee of ſafety. They ſpoke every where of ſummoning a parliament, choſen by the people; but they really took ſome ſteps towards aſſembling a military parliament, compoſed of officers, elected from every regiment in the ſervice [c]. Throughout the three kingdoms there prevailed nothing but the melancholy fears, to the nobility and gentry, of a bloody maſſacre and extermination; to the reſt of the people, of perpetual ſervitude, beneath thoſe ſanctified robbers, whoſe union and whoſe diviſions would be equally deſtructive, and who, under pretence of ſuperior illuminations, would ſoon extirpate, if poſſible, all private morality, as they had already all public law and juſtice, from the Britiſh dominions.

26th of October.

Committee of Safety.

DURING the time that England continued in this diſtracted condition, the other kingdoms of Europe were haſtening towards a compoſure of thoſe differences, by which they had ſo long been agitated. The parliament, while it preſerved authority, inſtead of following the deſtructive politics of Cromwel, and lending aſſiſtance to the conquering Swede, embraced the prudent maxims of the Dutch Commonwealth, and reſolved, in conjunction with that ſtate, to mediate by force of arms an accommodation between the northern crowns. Montague was ſent with a ſquadron to the Baltic, and carried with him as ambaſſador Algernon Sidney, the famous republican.

Foreign affairs.

[c] Ludlow.

Sidney

Sidney found the Swediſh monarch employed in the ſiege of Copenhagen, the capital of his enemy; and was highly pleaſed, that, with a Roman arrogance, he could check the progreſs of royal victories, and diſplay in ſo ſignal a manner the ſuperiority of freedom above tyranny. With the higheſt indignation, the ambitious Prince was obliged to ſubmit to the imperious mediation of the two Commonwealths. "'Tis cruel," ſaid he, "that "laws ſhould be preſcribed me by parricides and ped- "lars." But his whole army was encloſed in an iſland, and might be ſtarved by the combined ſquadrons of England and Holland. He was obliged therefore to quit his prey, when he had ſo nearly got poſſeſſion of it; and having agreed to a pacification with Denmark, retired into his own country, where he ſoon after died. CHAP. LXII. 1659.

THE wars between France and Spain were alſo concluded by the treaty of the Pyrenees. Theſe bloody animoſities had long been carried on between the rival ſtates, even while governed by a ſiſter and brother, who cordially loved and eſteemed each other. But politics, which had ſo long prevailed over theſe friendly affections, now at laſt yielded to their influence; and never was the triumph more full and compleat. The Spaniſh Low Countries, if not every part of that monarchy, lay almoſt entirely at the mercy of its enemy. Broken armies, diſordered finances, ſlow and irreſolute councils; by theſe reſources alone were the diſperſed provinces of Spain defended againſt the vigorous power of France. But the Queen regent, anxious for the fate of her brother, employed her authority with the cardinal to ſtop the progreſs of the French conqueſts, and put an end to a quarrel, which, being commenced by ambition, and attended with victory, was at laſt concluded with moderation. The young monarch of France, tho' aſpiring

and

CHAP. LXII.

and warlike in his character, was at this time entirely occupied in the pleaſures of love and gallantry, and had

1659. paſſively reſigned the reins of the empire into the hands of his politic miniſter. And he remained an unconcerned ſpectator; while an opportunity for conqueſt was parted with, which he never was able, during the whole courſe of his active reign, fully to retrieve.

THE miniſters of the two crowns, Mazarine and Don Louis de Haro, met at the foot of the Pyrenees, in the Iſle of Pheaſants, a place which was ſuppoſed to belong to neither kingdom. The negotiation being brought to an iſſue by frequent conferences between the miniſters, the Monarchs themſelves agreed to a congreſs; and theſe two ſplendid courts appeared in their full luſtre amidſt thoſe ſavage mountains. Philip brought his daughter, Mary Thereſe, along with him; and giving her in marriage to his nephew, Louis, endeavoured to cement by this new tye the incompatible intereſts of the two monarchies. The French King made a ſolemn renunciation of every ſucceſſion, which might accrue to him in right of his ſpouſe; a vain formality, too weak to reſtrain the ungoverned ambition of Princes.

THE affairs of England were in ſo great diſorder, that it was not poſſible to comprehend that kingdom in the treaty, or adjuſt meaſures with a power, which was in ſuch inceſſant fluctuation. The King, reduced to deſpair by the failure of all enterprizes for his reſtoration, was reſolved to try the weak reſource of foreign ſuccours; and he went to the Pyrenees at the time when the two miniſters were in the midſt of their negotiations. Don Louis received him with that generous civility, peculiar to his nation; and expreſſed great inclination, had the low condition of Spain allowed him, to give aſſiſtance to the diſtreſſed Monarch. The cautious Mazarine, pleading the alliance of France with the Engliſh Commonwealth, refuſed even to ſee him; and though

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it is pretended, that the King offered to marry the Cardinal's niece, he could, for the preſent, obtain nothing but empty profeſſions of reſpect and proteſtations of ſervice. The condition of that Monarch, to all the world, ſeemed totally deſperate. His friends had been baffled in every attempt for his ſervice: The ſcaffold had often ſtreamed with the blood of the moſt active royaliſts: The ſpirts of many were broke with tedious impriſonments: The eſtates of all were burthened by the fines and confiſcations which had been levied from them: None durſt openly avow themſelves of that party: And ſo ſmall did their number ſeem to a ſuperficial view, that even ſhould the nation recover its liberty, which was eſteemed no wiſe probable, it was judged uncertain what form of government it would embrace. But amidſt all theſe gloomy proſpects, fortune, by a ſurprizing revolution, was now paving the way for the King to mount in peace and triumph the throne of his anceſtors. It was by the prudence and loyalty of General Monk, that this happy change was at laſt accompliſhed.

General Monk.

GEORGE MONK, to whom the fate was reſerved of re-eſtabliſhing monarchy, and finiſhing the bloody diſſenſions of the three kingdoms, was the ſecond ſon of a family in Devonſhire, antient and honourable, but lately, from too great hoſpitality and expence, ſomewhat fallen to decay. He betook himſelf, very early in his youth, to the profeſſion of arms; and was engaged in the unfortunate expeditions to Cadiz and the iſle of Rhé. After England had concluded peace with all its neighbours, he ſought military experience in the Low Countries, the great ſchool of war to all the European nations; and he roſe to the command of a company under Lord Goring. This company conſiſted of 200 men, of whom a hundred were volunteers, often gentlemen of family and eſtate, ſometimes noblemen, who lived upon their own fortunes in a ſplendid manner.

Such

CHAP. LXII.

1659.

Such a military turn at that time prevailed among the Engliſh.

When the ſound of war was firſt heard in this iſland, Monk returned to England, partly deſirous of promotion in his native country, partly diſguſted with ſome ill uſage from the States, of which he found reaſon to complain. Upon the Scots pacification, he was employed by the earl of Leiceſter againſt the Iriſh rebels; and having obtained a regiment, was ſoon taken notice of, for his military ſkill and for his calm and deliberate valour. Without oſtentation, expence, or careſſes, merely by his humane and equal temper, he gained the goodwill of all the ſoldiery; and with a mixture of familiarity and affection, they uſually called him *honeſt George Monk*; an honourable appellation, which they ſtill continued to him, even during his greateſt elevation. He was remarkable for his moderation in party; and while all around him were enflamed into rage againſt the oppoſite faction, he fell under ſuſpicion from the candour and tranquillity of his behaviour. When the Iriſh army was called over into England, ſurmiſes of this kind had been ſo far credited, that he had even been ſuſpended from his command, and ordered to Oxford, that he might anſwer the charge laid againſt him. His eſtabliſhed character for truth and ſincerity here ſtood him in great ſtead; and upon his earneſt proteſtations and declarations, he was ſoon reſtored to his regiment, which he joined at the ſiege of Nantwich. The very next day after his arrival, Fairfax attacked and defeated the royaliſts, commanded by Biron; and took Colonel Monk priſoner. He was ſent to the Tower, where he endured, above two years, all the rigors of poverty and confinement. The King, however, was ſo mindful as to ſend him, notwithſtanding his own difficulties, a preſent of a 100 guineas; but it was not till after the royaliſts were totally ſubdued, that he recovered his liberty.

berty. Monk, however diſtreſſed, had always refuſed the moſt inviting offers from the parliament: But Cromwel, ſenſible of his merit, having ſollicited him to engage in the wars againſt the Iriſh, who were conſidered as rebels both by King and parliament; he was not unwilling to repair his broken fortunes by accepting a command, which, he flattered himſelf, was reconcilable to the ſtricteſt principles of honour. Having once engaged with the parliament, he was obliged to obey orders; and found himſelf neceſſitated to fight both againſt the Marqueſs of Ormond in Ireland, and againſt the King himſelf in Scotland. Upon the reduction of this laſt kingdom, Monk was left with the ſupreme command; and by the equality and juſtice of his adminiſtration he was able to give contentment to that reſtleſs people, now reduced to ſubjection by a nation whom they hated. No leſs acceptable was his authority to the officers and ſoldiers; and foreſeeing, that the good will of the army under his command might ſome time be of great ſervice to him, he had, with much care and ſucceſs, cultivated their friendſhip.

THE connexions, which he had formed with Cromwel, his benefactor, preſerved him faithful to Richard, who had been enjoined by his father to follow in every thing the directions of General Monk. When the long parliament was reſtored, Monk, who was not prepared for oppoſition, acknowleged their authority, and was continued in his command, from which it would not have been ſafe to attempt the diſlodging him. After the army had expelled the parliament, he proteſted againſt the violence, and reſolved, as he pretended, to vindicate their invaded privileges. Deeper deſigns, either in the King's favour or his own, were from the beginning ſuſpected to be the motive of his actions.

Monk declares for the parliament.

A RIVALSHIP had long ſubſiſted between him and Lambert: and every body ſaw the reaſon why he oppoſed

CHAP. LXII.

1659.

posed himself to the advancement of that ambitious general, by whose success his own authority, he knew, would soon be subverted. But little friendship had ever been maintained between him and the parliamentary leaders; and it seemed no wise probable, that he intended to employ his industry, and spend his blood for the advancement of one enemy above another. How early he entertained designs for the King's restoration, we know not with certainty: It is likely, that, as soon as Richard was deposed, he foresaw, that, without such an expedient, it would be impossible ever to bring the nation to a regular settlement. His elder and younger brothers were entirely devoted to the royal cause: The Granvilles, his near relations, and all the rest of his kindred, were in the same interest: He himself was intoxicated with no fumes of enthusiasm; and had maintained no connexions with any of the fanatical tribe. His early engagements had been with the King, and he had left that service without receiving any disgust from the royal family. Since he had inlisted himself with the opposite party, he had been guilty of no violence or rigor, which might render him obnoxious. His return, therefore, to loyalty was easy and open; and nothing could be supposed to counterballance his natural propensity to that measure, except the views of his own elevation, and the prospect of usurping the same grandeur and authority, which had been assumed by Cromwel. But from such exorbitant, if not impossible projects, the natural tranquillity and moderation of his temper, the calmness and solidity of his genius, and his limited capacity, not to mention his age, now upon the decline, seem to have set him at a distance. Cromwel himself, he always asserted [d], could not long have maintained his usurpation; and any other person, even equal to him in genius, it was obvious, would now find it more

[d] Gumble's life of Monk, p. 93.

difficult

1659.

difficult to practiſe arts, of which every one, from experience, was ſufficiently aware. It is more agreeable, therefore, to reaſon as well as candor to ſuppoſe, that Monk, ſo ſoon as he put himſelf in movement, had entertained views of effectuating the King's reſtoration; nor ought any objections, derived from his profound ſilence even to Charles himſelf, be regarded as conſiderable. His temper was naturally reſerved, his circumſtances required diſſimulation, the King he knew was ſurrounded with ſpies and traitors; and upon the whole it ſeems hard to interpret that conduct, which ought to exalt our idea of his prudence, as a diſparagement of his probity.

Sir John Granville, hoping that the General would engage in the King's ſervice, ſent into Scotland his younger brother, a clergyman, Dr. Monk, who carried him a letter and invitation from the King. When the Doctor arrived, he found, that his brother was then holding a council of officers, and was not to be ſeen for ſome hours. In the mean time, he was received and entertained by Price, the General's chaplain, a man of probity, as well as a partizan of the King's. The Doctor having an entire confidence in the chaplain, talked very freely with him about the object of his journey, and engaged him, if there ſhould be occaſion, to ſecond his applications. At laſt, the General arrives; the brothers embrace; and after ſome preliminary converſation, the Doctor opens his buſineſs. Monk interrupts him to know, whether he had ever before to any body mentioned the ſubject of his journey. "To no body," replied his brother, "but to Price, whom I know to "be entirely in your confidence." The General, altering his countenance, changed the diſcourſe; and would enter into no farther confidence with him, but ſent him away with the firſt opportunity. He would not truſt his own brother the moment he knew that he

CHAP. LXII.

had diſcloſed the ſecret; though to a man whom he himſelf could have truſted [e].

1659.

His conduct in all other particulars was full of the ſame reſerve and prudence; and no leſs was requiſite for effecting the difficult work which he had undertaken. All the officers in his army, of whom he entertained any ſuſpicion, he immediately caſhiered: Cobbet, who had been ſent by the Committee of Safety, under pretence of communicating their reſolutions to Monk, but really with a view of debauching his army, he committed to cuſtody: He drew together the ſeveral ſcattered regiments: He ſummoned an aſſembly, ſomewhat reſembling a convention of eſtates in Scotland; and having communicated his reſolution of marching into England, he received from them a ſeaſonable, though no great ſupply of money.

Hraring that Lambert was advanced northward with his army, Monk ſent Cloberry and two other commiſſioners to London with large profeſſions of his inclination to peace, and with offers of terms for an accommodation. His chief aim was to obtain delay, and relax the preparations of his enemies. The Committee of Safety fell into the ſnare. A treaty was ſigned by the commiſſioners; but Monk refuſed to ratify it, and complained that his commiſſioners had exceeded their powers. He deſired however to enter into a new negotiation at Newcaſtle. The Committee willingly accepted this fallacious offer.

November.

Meanwhile theſe military ſovereigns found themſelves ſurrounded on all hands with inextricable difficulties. The nation had fallen into a total anarchy; and by refuſing the payment of all taxes, reduced the army to the greateſt neceſſities. While Lambert's forces were aſſembling at Newcaſtle, Hazelrig and Morley took poſ-

[e] Lord Lanſdown's defence of General Monk.

ſeſſion

ſeſſion of Portſmouth, and declared for the parliament. A party ſent to ſuppreſs them, were perſuaded by their commander to join in the ſame declaration. The city apprentices roſe in a tumult, and demanded a free parliament. Though they were ſuppreſſed by Colonel Hewſon, a man who from the profeſſion of a cobler had riſen to a high rank in the army, the city ſtill diſcovered ſymptoms of the moſt dangerous diſcontent. It even eſtabliſhed a kind of ſeparate government, and aſſumed the ſupreme authority within itſelf. Admiral Lauſon with his ſquadron came into the river, and declared for the parliament. Hazelrig and Morley, hearing of this important event, left Portſmouth, and advanced towards London. The regiments near that city, being ſollicited by their old officers, who had been caſhiered by the Committee of Safety, revolted again to the parliament. Deſborow's regiment, being ſent by Lambert to ſupport his friends, no ſooner arrived at St. Albans, than it declared for the ſame aſſembly.

CHAP. LXII. 1659.

FLEETWOOD's hand was found too weak and unſtable to ſupport this ill-founded fabric, which, every where around him, was falling into ruins. When he received intelligence of any murmurs among the ſoldiers, he would fall upon his knees in prayer, and could hardly be prevailed with to join the troops. Even when among them, in the midſt of any diſcourſe, he would invite them all to prayers, and put himſelf on his knees before them. If any of his friends exhorted him to more vigor, they could get no other anſwer, than that God had ſpit in his face, and would not hear him. Men now ceaſed to wonder, why Lambert had promoted him to the office of General, and had been contented himſelf with the ſecond command in the army.

LENTHAL, the ſpeaker, being invited by the officers, again aſſumed authority, and ſummoned together the parliament, which twice before had been expelled with

26th of December.

CHAP. LXII.

1659. Parliament reſtored.

ſo much reproach and ignominy. As ſoon as aſſembled, they repealed their act againſt the payment of exciſe and cuſtoms; they appointed commiſſioners for aſſigning quarters to the army; and without taking any notice of Lambert, they ſent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to thoſe garriſons, which were appointed them.

1660. 1ſt of January.

LAMBERT was now in a very diſconſolate condition. Monk, he ſaw, had paſſed the Tweed at Coldſtream, and was advancing upon him. His own ſoldiers deſerted him in great multitudes, and joined the enemy. Lord Fairfax too, he heard, had raiſed forces behind him, and poſſeſſed himſelf of York, without declaring his purpoſe. The laſt orders of the parliament ſo entirely ſtripped him of his army, that there remained not with him above 100 horſe: All the reſt went to their quarters with quietneſs and reſignation; and himſelf was, ſome time after, committed to the Tower. The other officers of the army, who had formerly been caſhiered by the parliament, and had reſumed their commands that they might ſubdue that aſſembly, were again caſhiered and confined to their own houſes. Sir Harry Vane and other members, who had concurred with the Committee of Safety, were ordered into a like confinement. And the parliament now ſeemed to be again poſſeſſed of a more abſolute authority than ever, and to be without any danger of oppoſition or contradiction.

THE republican party was at this time headed by two men, Hazelrig and Vane, who were of very oppoſite characters, and mortally hated each other. Hazelrig, who poſſeſſed greater authority in the parliament, was haughty, imperious, precipitate, vain-glorious; without civility, without prudence; qualified only by his noiſy, pertinacious obſtinacy to acquire an aſcendant in public

public councils. Vane was noted, in all civil tranſactions, for temper, inſinuation, addreſs, and a profound judgment; in all religious ſpeculations, for folly and extravagance. He was a perfect enthuſiaſt; and fancying that he was certainly favoured with inſpiration, he deemed himſelf, to ſpeak in the language of the times, to be a *man above ordinances*, and by reaſon of his perfection, to be unlimited and unreſtrained by any rules, which govern inferior mortals. Theſe whimſies, mingling with pride, had ſo corrupted his excellent underſtanding, that ſometimes he thought himſelf the perſon deputed to reign on earth for a thouſand years over the whole congregation of the faithful [f].

MONK, though informed of the reſtoration of the parliament, from whom he received no orders, ſtill advanced with his army, which was near 6000 men: The ſcattered forces in England were above four times more numerous. Fairfax, who had reſolved to declare for the King, not being able to make the General open his intentions, retired to his own houſe in Yorkſhire. In all countries through which Monk paſſed, the prime gentry flocked to him with addreſſes, expreſſing their earneſt deſire, that he would be inſtrumental in reſtoring the nation to peace and tranquillity, and to the enjoyment of thoſe liberties, which by law were their birthright, but of which, during ſo many years, they had been fatally bereaved: And that, in order to this ſalutary purpoſe, he would prevail, either for the reſtoring thoſe members, who had been ſecluded before the King's death, or for the election of a new parliament, who might, legally and by general conſent, again govern the nation. Though Monk pretended not to favour theſe addreſſes, that ray of hope, which the knowledge of his character and ſituation afforded, mightily animated all men. The tyranny and the anarchy,

[f] Clarendon.

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

which now equally oppreſſed the kingdom; the experience of paſt diſtractions, the fear of future convulſions, the indignation againſt military uſurpation, againſt ſanctified hypocriſy: All theſe motives had united every party, except the moſt deſperate, into ardent wiſhes for the King's reſtoration, the only remedy for all theſe fatal evils.

SCOT and Robinſon were ſent as deputies by the parliament, under pretence of congratulating the General, but in reality to ſerve as ſpies upon him. The city diſpatched four of their principal citizens to perform like compliments; and at the ſame time to confirm the General in his inclination to a free parliament, the object of all men's prayers and endeavours. The authority of Monk could ſcarce ſecure the parliamentary deputies from thoſe inſults, which the general hatred and contempt towards their maſters drew from men of every rank and denomination.

MONK continued his march with few intervals till he came to St. Albans. He there ſent a meſſage to the parliament, deſiring them to remove from London thoſe regiments, who, though they now profeſſed to return to their duty, had ſo lately offered violence to that aſſembly. This meſſage was unexpected, and exceedingly perplexed the houſe. Their fate, they found, muſt ſtill depend on a mercenary army; and they were as diſtant as ever from their imaginary ſovereignty. However, they found it neceſſary to comply. The ſoldiers made more difficulty. A mutiny aroſe among them. One regiment in particular, which was quartered in Somerſet-houſe, expreſsly refuſed to yield their place to the northern army. But thoſe officers, who would gladly, on ſuch an occaſion, have inflamed the quarrel, were abſent or in confinement; and for want of leaders, the ſoldiers were at laſt, with great reluctance, obliged

3d of February. Monk enters London.

to

to comply. Monk with his army took quarters at Weſtminſter. CHAP. LXII.

THE General was introduced to the houſe; and thanks were given him by Lenthal for the eminent ſervices, which he had done his country. Monk was a prudent, but not an eloquent ſpeaker. He told the houſe, that the ſervices, which he had been enabled to perform, were no more than his duty, and merited not ſuch praiſes as thoſe with which they were pleaſed to honour him: That among many perſons of greater worth, who bore their commiſſion, he had been employed as the inſtrument of providence for effecting their reſtoration; but he conſidered this ſervice only as a ſtep to more important ſervices, which it was their part to render to the nation: That as he marched along, he obſerved all ranks of men, in all places, to be in earneſt expectation of a ſettlement, after the violent convulſions, to which they had been expoſed; and to have no proſpect of ſuch a bleſſing but from the diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and from the ſummoning of a new one, free and full, who, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation: That applications had been made to him for that purpoſe; but that he, ſenſible of his duty, had ſtill told the petitioners, that the parliament itſelf, which was now free and would ſoon be full, was the beſt judge of all theſe meaſures, and that the whole community ought to acquieſce in their determination: That though he expreſſed himſelf in this manner to the people, he muſt now freely inform the houſe, that the fewer engagements were exacted, the more comprehenſive would their plan prove, and the more ſatisfaction would it give to the nation: And that it was ſufficient for public ſecurity, if the fanatic party and the royaliſts were excluded; ſince the principles of theſe factions were deſtructive either of government or of liberty. 1660. 6th of February.

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

THIS ſpeech, containing matter, which was both agreeable and diſagreeable to the houſe as well as to the nation, ſtill kept every one inſuſpence, and upheld that uncertainty, in which it ſeemed the General's intereſt to retain the public. But it was impoſſible for the kingdom to remain long in this doubtful ſituation: The people, as well as the parliament, puſhed matters to a deciſion. During the late convulſions, the payment of taxes had been interrupted; and though the parliament, upon their aſſembling, renewed the ordinances for all collections and impoſitions, yet ſo little reverence did the people pay thoſe legiſlators, that they gave very ſlow and unwilling obedience to their commands. The common council of London flatly refuſed to ſubmit to an aſſeſſment, required of them; and declared, that, till a free and lawful parliament impoſed taxes, they never would deem it their duty to make any payment. This reſolution would immediately have put an end to the dominion of the parliament: They were determined, therefore, upon this occaſion to make at once a full experiment of their own power and of their General's obedience.

9th of February.

MONK received orders to march into the city, to ſeize twelve perſons the moſt obnoxious to the parliament, to remove the poſts and chains from all the ſtreets, and to take down and break the portculliſes and gates of the city: And very few hours were allowed him to deliberate upon the execution of theſe violent orders. To the great ſurprize and conſternation of all men, Monk prepared himſelf for obedience. Neglecting the entreaties of his friends, the remonſtrances of his officers, the cries of the people, he entered the city in a military manner; he apprehended as many as he could of the proſcribed perſons, whom he ſent to the Tower; with all the circumſtances of contempt he broke the gates and portculliſes; and having expoſed

the city to the ſcorn and deriſion of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Weſtminſter. CHAP. LXII. 1660.

No ſooner had the General leiſure to reflect, than he found, that this laſt meaſure, inſtead of being a continuation of that cautious ambiguity, which he had hitherto maintained, was taking party without reſerve, and laying himſelf, as well as the nation, at the mercy of that tyrannical parliament, whoſe power had long been odious, as well as their perſons contemptible, to all men. He reſolved therefore, before it was too late, to repair the dangerous miſtake, into which he had been betrayed, and to ſhow the whole world, ſtill more without reſerve, that he meant no longer to be the miniſter of violence and uſurpation. After complaining of the odious ſervice, in which he had been employed; he wrote a letter to the houſe, reproaching them, as well with the new cabals which they had formed with Vane and Lambert, as with the encouragement given to a fanatical petition preſented by Barebone; and he required them, in the name of the citizens, ſoldiers, and whole Commonwealth, to iſſue writs within a week for the filling their houſe, and to fix the time for their own diſſolution and the aſſembling of a new parliament. Having diſpatched this letter, which might be regarded, he thought, as an undoubted pledge of his ſincerity, he marched with his army into the city, and deſired Allen, the mayor, to ſummon a common-council at Guildhall. He there made many apologies for the indignity, which, two days before, he had been obliged to put upon them; aſſured them of his perſeverance in the meaſures which he had adopted; and deſired that they might mutually plight their faith for a ſtrict union between city and army, in every enterprize for the happineſs and ſettlement of the Commonwealth.

11th of February.

Declares for a free parliament.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the joy and exultation, which diſplayed itſelf throughout the city, as ſoon as

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

intelligence was conveyed of this happy meaſure, embraced by the General. The proſpect of peace, concord, liberty, juſtice, broke forth at once, from amidſt the deepeſt darkneſs, in which the nation had ever been involved. The view of paſt calamities no longer preſented diſmal prognoſtics of the future: It tended only to inhance the general exultation for thoſe ſcenes of happineſs and tranquillity, which all men now confidently promiſed themſelves. The royaliſts, the preſbyterians, forgetting all animoſities, mingled in common joy and tranſport, and vowed never more to gratify the ambition of falſe and factious tyrants, by their calamitous diviſions. The populace, more outrageous in their feſtivity, made the whole air reſound with acclamations, and illuminated every ſtreet with ſignals of jollity and triumph. Applauſes of the General were every where intermingled with deteſtation againſt the parliament. The moſt ridiculous inventions were adopted, in order to expreſs this latter paſſion. At every bonfire rumps were roaſted; and where theſe could no longer be found, pieces of fleſh were cut into that ſhape: And the funeral of the parliament (the populace exclaimed) was celebrated by theſe ſymbols of hatred and deriſion.

THE parliament, though in the agonies of deſpair, made ſtill one effort for the recovery of their dominion. They ſent a committee with offers to gain the General. He refuſed to hear them except in the preſence of ſome of the ſecluded members. Though ſeveral perſons, deſperate from guilt and fanaticiſm, promiſed to inveſt him with the dignity of ſupreme magiſtrate and to ſupport his government, he would not hearken to ſuch wild propoſals. Having fixed a cloſe correſpondence with the city, and eſtabliſhed its militia in hands, whoſe fidelity could be relied on, he marched again with his army to Weſtminſter, and purſued every pro-

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per measure for the settlement of the nation. While he still pretended to maintain republican principles, he was taking large steps towards the re-establishment of the antient monarchy. CHAP. LXII. 1660.

THE secluded members, upon the General's invitation, went to the House, and finding no longer any obstruction, they entered, and immediately appeared to be the majority: Most of the independants left the place. The restored members first repealed all the orders, by which they had been excluded: They gave Sir George Boothe and all his party their liberty and estates: They renewed and enlarged the General's commission: They fixed an assessment for the support of the fleet and army: And having passed these votes for the present composure of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and gave orders for the immediate assembling of a new parliament. This last measure had been previously concerted with the General, who knew, that all men, however different in affections, expectations, and designs, united in their detestation of the long parliament. 21st of February. Secluded members restored. 16th of March. Long parliament dissolved.

A COUNCIL OF STATE was established, consisting of men of dignity and moderation; most of whom, during the civil wars, had made a great figure among the presbyterians. The militia of the kingdom was put into such hands as would promote order and settlement. These, conjoined with Monk's army, which lay united at London, were esteemed a sufficient check on the more numerous, though dispersed army, of whose inclinations there was still much reason to be diffident. Monk, however, was every day removing the more obnoxious officers, and bringing the troops to a state of discipline and obedience.

OVERTON, governor of Hull, had declared his resolution to keep possession of that fortress till the coming of

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

of King Jesus: But when Alured produced the authority of the parliament for his delivering the place to Colonel Fairfax, he thought proper to comply.

MONTAGUE, who commanded the fleet in the Baltic, had entered into the same conspiracy with Sir George Boothe; and pretending want of provisions, had sailed from the Sound towards the coast of England, with an intention of seconding that enterprize of the royalists. On his arrival he received the news of Boothe's defeat, and the total failure of the insurrection. The great difficulties to which the parliament was reduced, allowed them no leisure to examine strictly the reasons, which he gave for quitting his station; and they allowed him to retire peaceably to his country house. The Council of State now conferred on him, in conjunction with Monk, the command of the fleet; and secured the naval, as well as military force in hands favourable to the public settlement.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these steps, which were taking towards the re-establishment of monarchy, Monk still maintained the appearance of zeal for a Commonwealth, and hitherto allowed no canal of correspondence between himself and the King to be opened. To call a free parliament, and to restore the royal family, were visibly, in the present disposition of the kingdom, one and the same measure: Yet would not the General declare, otherways than by his actions, that he had adopted the King's interest; and nothing but necessity, at last extorted the confession from him. His silence, in the commencement of his enterprize, ought to be no objection to his sincerity; since he maintained the same reserve, at a time, when, consistent with common sense, he could have entertained no other purpose [z].

THERE

[z] After Monk's declaration for a free parliament on the 11th of February, he could mean nothing but the King's restoration: Yet it was long before he would

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

THERE was one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonſhire, of a ſedentary, ſtudious diſpoſition, nearly related to Monk, and one who had always maintained the ſtricteſt intimacy with him. With this friend alone did Monk deliberate concerning that great enterprize, which he had formed. Sir John Granville, who had a commiſſion from the King, applied to Morrice for acceſs to the General; but received for anſwer, that the General deſired him to communicate his buſineſs to Morrice. Granville, though importunately urged, twice refuſed to deliver his meſſage to any but Monk himſelf; and that cautious politician, finding him now a perſon, whoſe ſecreſy could be ſafely truſted, admitted him to his preſence, and opened to him his whole intentions. Still he ſcrupled to commit any thing to paper [h]: He delivered only a verbal meſſage by Granville, aſſuring the King of his ſervices, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him inſtantly to leave the Spaniſh territories, and retire into Holland. He was juſtly apprehenſive leſt Spain might retain him as a pledge for the recovery of Dunkirk and Jamaica. Charles followed theſe directions, and very narrowly eſcaped to Breda. Had he protracted his journey a few hours, he had certainly, under pretence of honour and reſpect, been arreſted by the Spaniards.

would open himſelf even to the King. This declaration was within eight days after his arrival in London. Had he ever intended to have ſet up himſelf, he would not ſurely have ſo ſoon abandoned a project ſo inviting: He would have taken ſome ſteps, which would have betrayed it. It could only have been ſome diſappointment, ſome fruſtrated attempt, which could have made him renounce the road of private ambition. But there is not the leaſt ſymptom of ſuch intentions. The ſtory told of Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, by Mr. Locke, has not any appearance of truth. See Lord Lanſdown's Vindication, and Philips's Continuation of Baker. I ſhall add to what thoſe authors have advanced, that Cardinal Mazarine wiſhed for the King's reſtoration; though he would not have ventured much to have procured it.

[h] Lanſdowne, Clarendon.

LOCHKART,

CHAP. LXII.

1660.

LOCKHART, who was governor of Dunkirk, and no wiſe averſe to the King's ſervice, was applied to on this occaſion. The ſtate of England was ſet before him, the certainty of the reſtoration repreſented, and the proſpect of great favour diſplayed, if he would anticipate the vows of the kingdom, and receive the King into his garriſon. Lockhart ſtill replied that his commiſſion was derived from an Engliſh parliament, and he would not open his gates but in obedience to the ſame authority [1]. The ſcruple, though in the preſent emergence it approaches towards ſuperſtition, it is difficult for us entirely to condemn.

THE elections for the new parliament went every where in favour of the King's party. This was one of thoſe popular torrents, where the moſt indifferent, or even the moſt averſe, are tranſported with the general paſſion, and zealouſly adopt the ſentiments of the ſociety, to which they belong. The enthuſiaſts themſelves ſeemed to be diſarmed of their fury; and between deſpair and aſtoniſhment gave way to thoſe meaſures, which, they found, it would be impoſſible for them, by their utmoſt efforts, to withſtand. The preſbyterians, the royaliſts, being united, formed the voice of the nation, which, without noiſe, but with infinite ardour, called for the King's reſtoration. The kingdom was almoſt entirely in the hands of the former party; and ſome zealous leaders among them began to renew the demand of thoſe conditions, which had been required of the late King in the treaty of Newport: But the general opinion ſeemed to condemn all thoſe rigorous and jealous capitulations with their ſovereign. Harraſſed with convulſions and diſorders, men ardently longed for repoſe, and were terrified with the mention of negotiations or delay, which might afford opportunity to the ſeditious army ſtill to breed new confuſion. The paſ-

[1] Burnet.

ſion

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

ſion too for liberty, having been carried to ſuch violent extremes, and having produced ſuch bloody commotions, began, by a natural movement, to give place to a ſpirit of loyalty and obedience; and the public were leſs zealous in a cauſe, which was become odious, on account of the calamities which had ſo long attended it. After the conceſſions made by the late King, the conſtitution ſeemed to be ſufficiently ſecured; and the additional conditions inſiſted on, as they had been framed during the greateſt ardour of the conteſt, amounted rather to an annihilation than a limitation of monarchy. Above all, the General was averſe to the mention of conditions; and reſolved, that the crown, which he intended to reſtore, ſhould be conferred on the King entirely free and unincumbered. Without farther ſcruple, therefore, or jealouſy, the people gave their voice in elections for ſuch as they knew to entertain ſentiments favourable to monarchy; and all payed court to a party, which, they foreſaw, was ſoon to govern the nation. Though the parliament had voted, that no one ſhould be elected, who had himſelf, or whoſe father had borne arms for the late King; very little regard was any where payed to this ordinance. The leaders of the preſbyterians, the Earl of Mancheſter, Lord Fairfax, Lord Roberts, Hollis, Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, Anneſley, Lewis, were determined to atone for paſt tranſgreſſions by their preſent zeal for the royal intereſts; and from former merits, ſucceſſes, and ſufferings, they had acquired with their party the higheſt credit and authority.

THE affairs of Ireland were in a condition no leſs favourable to the King. As ſoon as Monk declared againſt the Engliſh army, he diſpatched emiſſaries into Ireland, and engaged the officers in that kingdom to concur with him in the ſame meaſures. Lord Broghill, Preſident

CHAP. LXII.

1660.

President of Munſter, and Sir Charles Coote, Preſident of Connaught, went ſo far as to enter into a correſpondence with the King, and to promiſe their aſſiſtance for his reſtoration. In conjunction with Sir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, they took poſſeſſion of the government, and excluded Ludlow, who was zealous for the parliament, but whom they pretended to be in a confederacy with the Committee of Safety. They kept themſelves in readineſs to ſerve the King; but made no declarations, till they ſhould ſee the turn, which affairs took in England.

But all theſe promiſing views had almoſt been blaſted by an untoward accident. Upon the admiſſion of the ſecluded members, the republican party, particularly the late King's judges, were ſeized with the juſteſt deſpair, and endeavoured to infuſe the ſame ſentiments into the whole army. By themſelves or their emiſſaries, they repreſented to the ſoldiers, that all thoſe brave actions, which had been performed during the war, and which were ſo meritorious in the eyes of the parliament, would no doubt be regarded as the deepeſt crimes by the royaliſts, and would expoſe the army to the ſevereſt vengeance. That in vain did that party make profeſſions of moderation and lenity: The King's death, the execution of ſo many of the nobility and gentry, the ſequeſtrations and impriſonment of the reſt, were in their eyes crimes ſo deep, and offences ſo perſonal, as muſt be proſecuted with the moſt implacable reſentment. That the loſs of all arrears, the caſheering every officer and ſoldier, were the lighteſt puniſhment, which muſt be expected: After the diſperſion of the army, no farther protection remained to them, either for life or property, but the clemency of enraged enemies. And that, even, if the moſt perfect ſecurity could be obtained, it was inglorious to be reduced, by treachery

treachery and deceit, to ſubjection under a foe, who, in the open field, had ſo often yielded to their ſuperior valour. CHAP. LXII. 1660.

AFTER theſe ſuggeſtions had been infuſed into the army, Lambert ſuddenly made his eſcape from the Tower, and threw Monk and the Council of State into the greateſt conſternation. They knew Lambert's vigour and activity; they were acquainted with his great popularity in the army; they were ſenſible, that, though the ſoldiers had lately deſerted him, they ſufficiently expreſſed their remorſe and their deteſtation of thoſe, who, by falſe profeſſions, they found, had ſo egregiouſly deceived them. It ſeemed neceſſary, therefore, to employ the greateſt celerity in ſuppreſſing ſo dangerous an enemy: Colonel Ingoldſby, who had been named one of the late King's judges, but who was now entirely engaged in the royal cauſe, was diſpatched after him. He overtook him at Daventry, while he had yet aſſembled but four troops of horſe. One of them deſerted him. Another quickly followed the example. He himſelf, endeavouring to make his eſcape, was ſeized by Ingoldſby, to whom he made ſubmiſſions not ſuitable to his former character of ſpirit and valour. Okey, Axtel, Cobbet, Crede, and other officers of that party were taken priſoners with him. All the roads were full of ſoldiers haſtening to join them. In a few days they would have been very formidable. And it was thought, that it might prove dangerous for Monk himſelf to have aſſembled any conſiderable body of his republican army for their ſuppreſſion: So that nothing could be more happy than the ſudden extinction of this riſing flame. 22d of April.

WHEN the parliament met, they choſe Sir Harbottle Grimſtone ſpeaker, a man, who, though he had for ſome time concurred with the late parliament, had long been 25th of April.

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

been esteemed affectionate to the King's service. The great dangers, incurred during the former usurpations, joined to the extreme caution of the General, kept every one in awe; and no one dared, for some days, to make any mention of the King. The members chiefly exerted their spirit in bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwel, and in execrations upon the inhuman murther of their late Sovereign. At last, the General, having sufficiently sounded their inclinations, gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them, that one Sir John Granville, a servant of the King's, had been sent over by his Majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the Commons. The loudest acclamations were excited by this intelligence. Granville was called in: The letters, accompanied with a declaration, greedily read: Without one moment's delay, and without a contradictory vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an answer: And in order to spread the same satisfaction throughout the kingdom, it was voted that the letter and declaration should immediately be published.

1st of May.

The restoration.

THE people, freed from that state of suspence in which they had so long been held, now changed their anxious hope for the unmixt effusions of joy; and displayed a social triumph, and exultation, which no private prosperity, even the greatest, is ever able fully to inspire. Traditions remain of men who died for pleasure, when informed of this happy and surprising event. The King's declaration was well calculated to uphold the satisfaction, inspired by the prospect of public settlement. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever; and that without any exceptions but such as should afterwards be made by parliament: It promised a liberty of conscience; and a concurrence in any act of parliament, which, upon mature deliberation, should be offered, for the insuring that indulgence: The en-

quiry into all grants, purchaſes, and alienations, it ſubmitted to the arbitration of the ſame aſſembly: And it aſſured the ſoldiers of all their arrears, and promiſed them, for the future, the ſame pay which they then enjoyed.

THE Lords, perceiving the ſpirit, by which the kingdom as well as the Commons were animated, haſtened to re-inſtate themſelves in their antient authority, and to take their ſhare in the ſettlement of the nation. They found the doors of their houſe open; and all were admitted, even ſuch as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency.

THE two houſes attended; while the King was proclaimed with great ſolemnity, in Palace-Yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-Bar. The Commons voted 500 pounds to buy a jewel for Granville, who had brought them the King's gracious meſſages: A preſent of 50,000 pounds was conferred on the King, 10,000 pounds on the Duke of York, 5000 pounds on the Duke of Gloceſter. A committee of Lords and Commons was diſpatched to invite his Majeſty to return and take poſſeſſion of his dominions. The rapidity, with which all theſe events were conducted, was marvellous, and diſcovered the paſſionate zeal and entire unanimity of the nation. Such an impatience appeared, and ſuch an emulation, in Lords, and Commons, and City, who ſhould make the moſt lively expreſſions of their joy and duty; that, as the noble hiſtorian expreſſes it, a man could not but wonder where thoſe people dwelt, who had done all the miſchief, and kept the King ſo many years from enjoying the comfort and ſupport of ſuch excellent ſubjects. The King himſelf ſaid, that it muſt ſurely have been his own fault, that he had not ſooner taken poſſeſſion of the throne; ſince he found every body ſo zealous for promoting his happy reſtoration.

8th of May.

CHAP. LXII.

1660.

THE reſpect of foreign powers ſoon followed the ſubmiſſion of the King's ſubjects. Spain invited him to return to the Low Countries, and embark in ſome of their maritime towns. France made proteſtations of affection and regard, and offered Calais for the ſame purpoſe. The States-General ſent deputies with a like friendly invitation. The King reſolved to accept of this laſt offer. The people of the republic bore him a very cordial affection; and politics no longer reſtrained their magiſtrates from promoting and expreſſing that ſentiment. As he paſſed from Breda to the Hague, he was attended with numerous crowds, and was received with the loudeſt acclamations; as if themſelves, not their rivals in power and commerce, were now reſtored to peace and ſecurity. The States-General in a body, and afterwards the States of Holland apart, performed their compliments with the greateſt ſolemnity: Every perſon of diſtinction was ambitious of being introduced to his Majeſty; all ambaſſadors and public miniſters of kings, princes, or ſtates, repaired to him, and profeſſed the joy of their maſters on his behalf: So that one would have thought, that, from the united efforts of Chriſtendom, had been derived this revolution, which diffuſed every where ſuch univerſal ſatisfaction.

THE Engliſh fleet came in ſight of Scheveling. Montague had not waited for orders from the parliament; but had perſuaded the officers, of themſelves, to tender their duty to his Majeſty. The Duke of York immediately went on board, and took the command of the fleet as Lord High Admiral.

WHEN the King diſembarked at Dover, he was met by the General, whom he cordially embraced. Never ſubject in fact, probably in his intentions, had deſerved better of his King and country. In the ſpace of a few months, without effuſion of blood, by his cautious and diſintereſted

disinterested conduct alone, he had bestowed settlement on three kingdoms, which had long been torne with the most violent convulsions: And having obstinately refused the most inviting conditions, offered him by the King as well as by every party in the kingdom, he freely restored his injured master to the vacant throne. The King entered London on the 29th of May, which was also his birth-day. The fond imaginations of men interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two such joyful periods. CHAP. LXII. 1660. 29th of May

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At this æra, it may be proper to stop for a moment, and take a general survey of the age, so far as regards manners, finances, arms, commerce, arts and sciences. The chief use of history is, that it affords materials for disquisitions of this nature; and it seems the duty of an historian to point out the proper inferences and conclusions.

No people could undergo a change more sudden and entire in their manners than did the English nation during this period. From tranquillity, concord, submission, sobriety, they passed in an instant to a state of faction, fanaticism, rebellion, and almost frenzy. The violence of the English parties exceeded any thing, which we can now imagine: Had they continued but a little longer, there was just reason to dread all the horrors of the antient massacres and proscriptions. The military usurpers, whose authority was founded on Manners and arts.

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

palpable injuſtice, and was ſupported by no national party, would have been impelled by rage and deſpair into ſuch ſanguinary meaſures; and if theſe furious expedients had been embraced on one ſide, revenge would naturally have puſhed the other party, after a return of power, to retaliate upon their enemies. No ſocial intercourſe was maintained between the parties; no marriages or alliances contracted. The royaliſts, though oppreſſed, harraſſed, perſecuted, diſdained all affinity with their maſters. The more they were reduced to ſubjection, the greater ſuperiority did they affect above thoſe uſurpers, who by violence and injuſtice had acquired an aſcendant over them.

THE manners of the two factions were as oppoſite as thoſe of the moſt diſtant nations. "Your friends, the "Cavaliers," ſaid a parliamentarian to a royaliſt, "are "very diſſolute and debauched." "Yes" replied the royaliſts, "they have the infirmities of men: But your "friends, the roundheads, have the vices of devils, "tyranny, rebellion, and ſpiritual pride [1]." Riot and diſorder, it is certain, notwithſtanding the good example ſet them by Charles the firſt, prevailed very much among his partizans. Being commonly men of birth and fortune, to whom exceſſes are leſs pernicious than to the vulgar, they were too apt to indulge themſelves in all pleaſures, particularly thoſe of the table. Oppoſition to the rigid preciſeneſs of their antagoniſts increaſed their inclination to good-fellowſhip; and the character of a man of pleaſure was affected among them, as a ſure pledge of attachment to the church and monarchy. Even when ruined by confiſcations and ſequeſtrations, they endeavoured to maintain the appearance of a careleſs and ſocial jollity. "As much as "hope is ſuperior to fear," ſaid a poor and merry ca-

[1] Sir Philip Warwic.

valier,

valier, "so much is our situation preferable to that of "our enemies. We laugh while they tremble." CHAP. LXII. 1660.

THE gloomy enthusiasm, which prevailed among great numbers of the parliamentary party, is surely the most curious spectacle presented by any history; and the most instructive, as well as entertaining, to a philosophical mind. All recreations were in a manner suspended by the rigid severity of the presbyterians and independants. Horse-races and cock-matches were prohibited as the greatest enormities [k]. Even bear-baiting was esteemed heathenish and unchristian: The sport of it, not the inhumanity, gave offence. Colonel Hewson, from his pious zeal, marched with his regiment into London, and destroyed all the bears, which were there kept for the diversion of the citizens. This adventure seems to have given birth to the fiction of Hudibras. Though the English nation be naturally candid and sincere, hypocrisy prevailed beyond any example in antient or modern times. The religious hypocrisy, it may be remarked, is of a singular nature; and being generally unknown to the person himself, though more dangerous, it implies less falshood than any other species of insincerity. The Old Testament, preferably to the New, was the favourite of all the sectaries. The eastern poetical style of that composition made it more easily susceptible of a turn, which was agreeable to them.

WE have had occasion, in the course of this work, to speak of many of the sects, which prevailed in England: To enumerate them all would be impossible. The quakers, however, are so considerable, at least so singular, as to merit some attention; and as they entirely renounced by principle the use of arms, they

[k] Killing no Murder.

CHAP. LXII.

1660.

never made such a figure in public transactions as to enter into any part of our narration.

THE religion of the quakers began with the lowest vulgar, and, in its progress, came at last to comprehend people of better quality and fashion. George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancashire in 1624, was the founder of this sect. He was the son of a weaver, and was himself bound apprentice to a shoemaker. Feeling a stronger turn towards spiritual contemplations than towards that mechanical profession, he left his master, and went about the country, cloathed in a leathern doublet, a dress, which he long affected, as well for its singularity as its cheapness. That he might wean himself entirely from sublunary objects, he broke off all connexions with his friends and family, and never stayed a moment in one place; lest habitude should beget new connexions, and depress the sublimity of his aerial meditations. He frequently wandered into the woods, and passed whole days in hollow trees, without other company or amusement than his bible. Having reached that pitch of perfection that he needed no other book, he soon advanced to another state of spiritual progress, and began to pay less regard even to that divine composition itself. His own breast, he imagined, was full of the same inspiration, which had guided the prophets and apostles themselves; and by this inward light must every spiritual obscurity be cleared, by this living spirit must the dead letter be animated.

WHEN he had been sufficiently consecrated in his own imagination, he felt that the fumes of self-applause soon dissipate, if not continually supplied by the admiration of others; and he began to seek proselytes. Proselytes were easily gained, at a time when all mens affections were turned towards religion, and when the most

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

moſt extravagant modes of it were ſure to be the moſt popular. All the forms of ceremony, invented by pride and oſtentation, Fox and his diſciples, from a ſuperior pride and oſtentation, carefully rejected: Even the ordinary rites of civility were ſhunned, as the nouriſhment of carnal vanity and ſelf-conceit. They would beſtow no titles of diſtinction: The name of *friend* was the only ſalutation, with which they indiſcriminately accoſted every one. To no perſon would they make a bow, or move their hat, or give any ſigns of reverence. Inſtead of that affected adulation, introduced into modern tongues, of ſpeaking to individuals as if they were a multitude, they returned to the ſimplicity of antient languages; and *thou* and *thee* were the only expreſſions, which, on any conſideration, they could be brought to employ.

DRESS too, a moſt material circumſtance, diſtinguiſhed the members of this ſect. Every ſuperfluity and ornament was carefully retrenched: No plaits to their coat, no buttons to their ſleeves: No lace, no ruffles, no embroidery. Even a button to the hat, though ſometimes uſeful, yet not being always ſo, was univerſally rejected by them with horror and indignation.

THE violent enthuſiaſm of this ſect, like all high paſſions, being too ſtrong for the weak nerves to ſuſtain, threw the preachers into convulſions, and ſhakings, and diſtortions in their limbs; and they thence received the denomination of *quakers*. Amidſt the great toleration, which was then granted to all ſects, and even encouragement given to all innovation, this ſect alone ſuffered perſecution. From the fury of their zeal, the quakers broke into churches, diſturbed public worſhip, and harraſſed the miniſter and audience with railing and reproaches. When carried before a magiſtrate, they refuſed him all reverence, and treated him with the ſame familiarity as if he had been their equal. Sometimes they

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

were thrown into mad-houſes, ſometimes into priſon: Sometimes whipped, ſometimes pilloryed. The patience and magnanimity, with which they ſuffered, begot compaſſion, admiration, eſteem [1]. A ſupernatural ſpirit was believed to ſupport them under thoſe ſufferings, which the ordinary ſtate of humanity, freed from the illuſions of paſſion, is unable to ſuſtain.

THE quakers crept into the army: But as they preached univerſal peace, they ſeduced the military zealots from their profeſſion, and would ſoon, had they been ſuffered, have put an end, without any defeat or calamity, to the dominion of the ſaints. Theſe attempts became a freſh ground of perſecution, and a new cauſe for their progreſs among the people.

MORALS with this ſect were carried, or affected to be carried, to the ſame degree of extravagance as religion. Give a quaker a blow on one cheek, he held up the other: Aſk his cloke, he gave you his coat alſo: The greateſt intereſt could not engage him, in any court of judicature, to ſwear even to the truth: He never aſked more for his wares than the preciſe ſum, which he was determined to accept. This laſt maxim is laudable, and continues ſtill to be religiouſly obſerved by that ſect.

No fanatics ever carried farther the hatred of ceremonies, forms, orders, rites, inſtitutions. Even baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper, by all other ſects believed to be interwoven with the very vitals of chriſtianity, were diſdainfully rejected by them. The very ſabbath they

[1] The following ſtory is told by Whitlocke, p. 599. Some quakers at Haſington in Northumberland coming to the miniſter on the ſabbath day, and ſpeaking to him, the people fell upon the quakers, and almoſt killed one or two of them, who going out fell on their knees, and prayed God to pardon the people, who knew not what they did; and afterwards ſpeaking to the people, ſo convinced them of the evil they had done in beating them, that the country people fell a quarrelling, and beat one another more than they had before beaten the quakers.

profaned,

profaned. The holineſs of churches they derided; and would give to theſe ſacred edifices no other appellation than that of *ſhops* or *ſteeple-houſes*. No prieſts were admitted in their ſect: Every one had received from immediate illumination a character much ſuperior to the ſacerdotal. When they met for divine worſhip, each roſe up in his place, and delivered the extemporary inſpirations of the ſpirit: Women alſo were admitted to teach the brethren, and were conſidered as proper vehicles to convey the dictates of the Holy Ghoſt. Sometimes a great many preachers were moved to ſpeak at once: Sometimes a total ſilence prevailed in their congregations. 1660.

SOME quakers attempted to faſt forty days in imitation of Chriſt; and one of them bravely periſhed in the experiment [m]. A female quaker came naked into the church where the Protector ſate; being moved by the ſpirit, as ſhe ſaid, to appear *as a ſign* to the people. A number of them fancied, that the renovation of all things had commenced, and that cloaths were to be rejected together with other ſuperfluities. The ſufferings, which followed the practice of this doctrine, were a ſpecies of perſecution not well calculated for promoting it.

JAMES NAYLOR was a quaker, noted for blaſphemy, or rather madneſs, in the time of the Protectorſhip. He fancied that he himſelf was transformed into Chriſt, and was become the real Saviour of the world; and in conſequence of this frenzy, he endeavoured to imitate many actions of our Saviour related in the evangeliſts. As he bore a reſemblance to the common pictures of Chriſt; he allowed his beard to grow in a like form: He pretended to raiſe a perſon from the dead [n]: He entered Briſtol, mounted on a horſe; I ſuppoſe, from the

[m] Whitlocke, p. 624. [n] Harleyan Miſcellany, vol. vi. p. 399.

difficulty

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

difficulty in that place of finding an aſs: His diſciples ſpread their garments before him, and cried, "Hoſanna "to the higheſt; holy, holy is the Lord God of Sab- "baoth." When carried before the magiſtrates, he would give no other anſwers to all queſtions than "thou haſt ſaid it." What is remarkable, the parliament thought that the matter deſerved their attention. About ten days they ſpent in enquiries and debates about him [o]. They condemned him to be pilloried, whipt, burned in the face, and to have his tongue bored thro' with a red hot iron. All theſe ſeverities he bore with the uſual patience. So far his deluſion ſupported him. But the ſequel ſpoiled all. He was ſent to Bridewell, confined to hard labour, fed on bread and water, debarred from all his diſciples, male and female. His illuſions diſſipated; and after ſome time, he was contented to come out an ordinary man, and return to his ordinary occupations.

THE chief taxes in England, during the time of the Commonwealth, were the monthly aſſeſſments, the exciſe, and the cuſtoms. The aſſeſſments were levied on perſonal eſtates as well as on land [p]; and commiſſioners were appointed in each county for rating the individuals. The higheſt aſſeſſment amounted to 120,000 pounds a month in England; the loweſt was 35000. The aſſeſſments in Scotland were ſometimes 10,000 pounds a month [q]; commonly 6000. Thoſe on Ireland 9000. At a medium, this tax might have afforded about a million a year. The exciſe, during the civil wars, was levied on bread, fleſh-meat, as well as beer, ale, ſtrong-waters, and many other commodities. After the King was ſubdued, bread and fleſh-meat were exempted from exciſe. The cuſtoms on exportation were lowered in 1656 [r]. In 1650, commiſſioners were ap-

[o] Thurloe, vol. v. p. 708. [p] Scobel. p. 419. [q] Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 476. [r] Scobel, p. 376.

pointed to levy both cuſtoms and exciſes. Cromwel in 1657 returned to the old practice of farming. Eleven hundred thouſand pounds were then offered, both for cuſtoms and exciſe, a greater ſum than had ever been levyed by the commiſſioners [s]. The whole of the taxes during that period might at a medium amount to above two millions a year; a ſum, which, though moderate, much exceeded the revenue of any former King. Sequeſtrations, compoſitions, ſale of crown and church lands, and of the lands of delinquents, yielded alſo conſiderable ſums, but very difficult to be eſtimated. Church lands are ſaid to have been ſold at a million [t]. None of theſe were ever valued at above ten or eleven years purchaſe [u]. Delinquents' eſtates amounted to above 200,000 pounds a year [w]. Cromwel died above two millions in debt [x]; though the parliament had left him in the treaſury above 500,000 pounds; and in ſtores, the value of 700,000 pounds [y].

THE Committee of Danger in April 1648, voted to raiſe the army to 40,000 men [z]. The ſame year, the pay of the army was eſtimated at 80,000 pounds a month [a]. The eſtabliſhment of the army in 1652, was in Scotland 15,000 foot, 2580 horſe, 560 dragoons; in England, 4700 foot, 2520 horſe, garriſons 6154. In all, 31,519, beſides officers [b]. The army in Scotland was afterwards conſiderably reduced. The army in Ireland was not much ſhort of 20,000 men; ſo that upon the whole, the Commonwealth maintained in 1652 a ſtanding army of more than 50,000 men. Its pay amounted to a yearly ſum of 1,047,715 pounds [c]. Afterwards the Protector reduced the eſtabliſhment to

s Thurloe, vol. vi. p. 425. t Dr. Walker, p. 14. u Thurloe, vol. i. p. 753. w Ibid. vol. ii. p. 414. x Ibid. vol. vii. p. 667. y World's Miſtake in Oliver Cromwel. z Whitlocke, p. 298. a Ibid. p. 378. b Journal, 2d of December, 1652. c Id. Ibid.

30,000

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

30,000 men; as appears by the Inſtrument of Government and Humble Petition and Advice. His frequent enterprizes obliged him from time to time to augment them. Richard had on foot in England an army of 13258 men, in Scotland 9506, in Ireland about 10,000 men [d]. The foot ſoldiers had commonly a ſhilling a day [e]. The horſe had two ſhillings and ſix-pence; ſo that many gentlemen and younger brothers of good family inliſted in the Protector's cavalry [f]. No wonder, that ſuch men were averſe from the re-eſtabliſhment of civil government, by which, they well knew, they muſt be deprived of ſo gainful a profeſſion.

ABOUT the time of the battle of Worceſter, the parliament had on foot about 80,000 men, partly militia, partly regular forces. The vigour of the Commonwealth, and the great capacity of thoſe members, who had aſſumed the adminiſtration, never at any time appeared ſo conſpicuous [g].

THE whole revenue of the public during the Protectorſhip of Richard was eſtimated at 1,868,717 pounds: His annual expences at 2,201,540 pounds. An additional revenue was demanded of the parliament [h].

THE commerce and induſtry of England increaſed extremely during the peaceable period of Charles's reign: The trade to the Eaſt-Indies and to Guinea became conſiderable. The Engliſh poſſeſſed almoſt the ſole trade with Spain. Seven hundred thouſand pounds a a year in bullion were coined in the Engliſh mint. Twenty thouſand cloths were annually ſent to Turkey [i]. Commerce met with interruption, no doubt, from the civil wars and convulſions, which afterwards prevailed;

[d] Journal, 6th of April, 1659. [e] Thurloe, vol. i. p. 395. vol. ii. p. 414. [f] Gumble's Life of Monk. [g] Whitlocke, p. 477. [h] Journal, 7th of April, 1659. [i] Stafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 421, 423, 430, 467.

though

though it ſoon recovered after the eſtabliſhment of the Commonwealth. The war with the Dutch, by diſtreſſing the commerce of ſo formidable a rival, ſerved to encourage trade in England: The Spaniſh war was in an equal degree pernicious. All the effects of the Engliſh merchants, to an immenſe value, were confiſcated in Spain. The prevalence of democratical principles engaged the country gentlemen to bind their ſons apprentices to merchants [k]; and commerce has ever ſince been more honourable in England than in any other European kingdom. The excluſive companies, which formerly confined trade, were never expreſsly aboliſhed by any ordinance of parliament during the Commonwealth; but as men payed no regard to the prerogative, whence the charter of theſe companies were derived, the monopoly was gradually invaded, and commerce increaſed by the increaſe of liberty. Intereſt in 1650 was reduced to ſix per cent.

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

THE colony of New England increaſed by means of the puritans, who fled thither, in order to free themſelves from the conſtraint, which Laud and the church party had impoſed upon them; and before the commencement of the civil wars, it is ſuppoſed to have contained 25,000 ſouls [l]. For a like reaſon, the catholics, afterwards, who found themſelves expoſed to many hardſhips, and dreaded ſtill worſe treatment, went over to America in great numbers, and ſettled the colony of Maryland.

BEFORE the civil wars, learning and the fine arts were favoured at court, and a good taſte began to prevail in the nation. The King loved pictures, ſometimes handled the pencil himſelf, and was a good judge of the art. The pieces of foreign maſters were bought up at a vaſt price; and the value of pictures doubled in Europe by the emulation between Charles and Philip IV. of

[k] Clarendon. [l] Britiſh Empire in America, vol. i. p. 372.

Spain,

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

Spain, who was touched with the ſame elegant paſſion. Vandyke was careſſed and enriched at court. Inigo Jones was maſter of the King's buildings; though afterwards perſecuted by the parliament on account of the part, which he had in rebuilding St. Paul's, and for obeying ſome orders of council, by which he was directed to pull down houſes, in order to make room for that fabric. Laws, who had not been ſurpaſſed by any muſician before him, was much beloved by the King, who called him the father of muſic. Charles was a good judge of writing, and was eſteemed by ſome more anxious with regard to purity of ſtyle than became a monarch [m]. Notwithſtanding his narrow revenue, and his freedom from all vanity, he lived in ſuch magnificence, that he poſſeſſed four and twenty palaces, all of them elegantly and compleatly furniſhed; inſomuch, that, when he removed from one to another, he was not obliged to tranſport any thing along with him.

CROMWEL, though himſelf a barbarian, was not inſenſible to literary merit. Uſher, notwithſtanding his being a biſhop, received a penſion from him. Marvel and Milton were in his ſervice. Waller, who was his relation, was careſſed by him. That poet always ſaid, that the Protector himſelf was not ſo wholly illiterate as was commonly imagined. He gave a hundred pounds a year to the divinity profeſſor at Oxford; and an hiſtorian mentions this bounty as an inſtance of his love of literature [n]. He intended to have erected a college at Durham for the benefit of the northern counties.

CIVIL WARS, eſpecially when founded on principles of liberty, are not commonly unfavourable to the arts of eloquence and compoſition; or rather, by preſenting nobler and more intereſting objects, they amply compenſate for that tranquillity, of which they bereave the

[m] Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times. [n] Neale's Hiſtory of the Puritans, vol. iv. p. 123.

muſes.

muſes. The ſpeeches of the parliamentary orators during this period, are of a ſtrain much ſuperior to what any former age had produced in England; and the force and compaſs of our tongue were then firſt put to trial. It muſt however be confeſſed, that the wretched fanaticiſm, which ſo much infected the parliamentary party, was no leſs deſtructive of taſte and ſcience, than of all law and order. Gaity and wit were proſcribed: Human learning deſpiſed: Freedom of enquiry deteſted: Cant and hypocriſy alone encouraged. It was an article poſitively inſiſted on in the preliminaries to the treaty of Uxbrige, that all play-houſes ſhould for ever be aboliſhed. Sir John Davenant, ſays Whitlocke [a], ſpeaking of the year 1658, publiſhed an opera, notwithſtanding the nicety of the times. All the King's furniture was put to ſale: His pictures, diſpoſed of at very low prices, enriched all the collections of Europe: Even his palaces were pulled to pieces, and the materials of them ſold. The very library and medals at St. James's, was intended by the Generals to be brought to auction, in order to pay the arrears of ſome regiments of cavalry, quartered near London: But Selden, apprehenſive of this loſs, engaged his friend Whitlocke, then Lord-Keeper for the Commonwealth, to apply for the office of Librarian. This contrivance ſaved that valuable collection.

CHAP. LXII. 1669.

'Tis however remarkable, that the greateſt genius by far, which ſhone forth in England during this period, was deeply engaged with theſe fanatics, and even proſtituted his pen in theological controverſy, in factious diſputes, and in juſtifying the moſt violent meaſures of the party. This was John Milton, whoſe poems are admirable, though liable to ſome objections; his proſe writings diſagreeable, though not altogether defective in genius. Nor are all his poems equal: His Paradiſe

[a] P. 639.

Loſt,

CHAP. LXII.

1660.

Loſt, his Comus, and a few others, ſhine out amidſt ſome flat and inſipid compoſitions. Even in the Paradiſe Loſt, his capital performance, there are very long paſſages, amounting to near a third of the work, almoſt wholly devoid of harmony and elegance, nay, of all vigour of imagination. The natural inequality in Milton's genius was much increaſed by the inequalities in his ſubject; of which ſome parts are of themſelves the moſt lofty that can enter into human conception, others would have required the moſt laboured elegance of compoſition to ſupport them. It is certain, that this author, when in a happy mood, and employed on a noble ſubject, is the moſt wonderfully ſublime of any poet in any language; Homer and Lucretius and Taſſo not excepted. More conciſe than Homer, more ſimple than Taſſo, more nervous than Lucretius; had he lived in a latter age, and learned to poliſh ſome rudeneſs in his verſes; had he enjoyed better fortune, and poſſeſſed leiſure to watch the returns of genius in himſelf; he had attained the pinnacle of human perfection, and borne away the palm of epic poetry.

IT is well known, that Milton never enjoyed in his life-time the reputation which he deſerved. His Paradiſe Loſt was long neglected: Prejudices againſt an apologiſt for the regicides, and againſt a work not wholly purged of the cant of former times, kept the ignorant world from perceiving the prodigious merit of that performance. Lord Somers, by encouraging a good edition of it, about twenty years after the author's death, firſt brought it into reputation; and Tonſon, in his dedication of a ſmaller edition, ſpeaks of it as a work juſt beginning to be known. Even during the prevalence of Milton's party, he ſeems never to have been much regarded; and Whitlocke [p] talks of one Milton, as he calls him, a blind man, who was em-

[p] P. 633.

ployed in tranſlating a treaty with Sweden into Latin. These forms of expreſſion are amuſing to poſterity, who conſider how obſcure Whitlocke himſelf, though Lord-Keeper and Ambaſſador, and indeed a man of great ability and merit, has become in compariſon of Milton. CHAP. LXII. 1660.

It was not ſtrange, that Milton received no encouragement after the reſtoration: It was more to be admired, that he eſcaped with his life. Many of the cavaliers blamed extremely that lenity towards him, which was ſo honourable in the King, and ſo advantageous to poſterity. It is ſaid, that he had ſaved Davenant's life during the Protectorſhip; and Davenant in return afforded him like protection after the reſtoration; being ſenſible, that men of letters ought always to regard their ſympathy of taſte as a more powerful band of union, than any difference of party or opinion as a ſource of animoſity. It was during a ſtate of poverty, blindneſs, diſgrace, danger, and old age, that Milton compoſed his wonderful poem, which not only ſurpaſſed all the performances of his cotemporaries, but all the compoſitions, which had flowed from his pen, during the vigor of his age, and the height of his proſperity. This circumſtance is not the leaſt remarkable of all thoſe which attend that great genius.

Waller was the firſt refiner of Engliſh poetry, at leaſt of Engliſh rhyme; but his performances ſtill abound with many faults, and what is more material, they contain but feeble and ſuperficial beauties. Gaiety, wit, and ingenuity are their ruling character: They aſpire not to the ſublime; ſtill leſs to the pathetic. They treat of love, without making us feel any tenderneſs; and abound in panegyric, without exciting admiration. The panegyric however on Cromwel, contains more force than we ſhould expect from the other compoſitions of this poet.

CHAP. LXII. 1666.

WALLER was born to an ample fortune, was early introduced to the court, and lived in the best company. He possessed talents for eloquence as well as poetry; and till his death, which happened in a good old age, he was the delight of the house of commons. The errors of his life proceeded more from want of courage than of honour or integrity.

COWLEY is an author extremely corrupted by the bad taste of his age; but had he lived even in the purest times of Greece and Rome, he must always have been a very indifferent poet. He had no ear for harmony; and his verses are only known to be such by the rhyme, which terminates them. In his rugged untuneable numbers are conveyed sentiments the most strained and violent, long spun allegories, distant allusions, and forced conceits. Great ingenuity, however, and force of thought sometimes break out amidst those unnatural conceptions. A few anacreontics surprise us by their ease and gaiety: His prose writings please, by the honesty and goodness which they express; and even by their spleen and melancholy. This author was much more praised and admired during his life time, and celebrated after his death, than the great Milton.

SIR JOHN DENHAM in his Cooper's Hill (for none of his other poems merit attention) has a loftiness and vigor, which had not before him been attained by any English poet, who wrote in rhyme. The mechanical difficulties of that measure retarded its improvement. Shakespeare, whose tragic scenes are so wonderfully forcible and expressive, is a very indifferent poet, when he attempts rhyme. Precision and neatness are chiefly wanting in Denham.

No author in that age was more celebrated both abroad and at home than Hobbes: In our times, he is much neglected: A lively instance, how precarious all reputations,

tations, founded on reaſoning and philoſophy! A pleaſant comedy, which paints the manners of the age, and expoſes a faithful picture of nature, is a durable work, and is tranſmitted to the lateſt poſterity. But a ſyſtem, whether phyſical or metaphyſical, owes commonly its ſucceſs to its novelty; and is no ſooner canvaſſed with impartiality than its weakneſs is diſcovered. Hobbes's politics are fitted only to promote tyranny, and his ethics to encourage licentiouſneſs. Though an enemy to religion, he partakes nothing of the ſpirit of ſcepticiſm; but is as poſitive and dogmatical as if human reaſon, and his reaſon in particular, could attain a thorough conviction on theſe ſubjects. Clearneſs and propriety of ſtyle are the chief excellencies of Hobbes's writings. In his own perſon he is repreſented to have been a man of virtue; a character no wiſe ſurpriſing, notwithſtanding his libertine ſyſtem of ethics. Timidity is the principal fault with which he is reproached: He lived to an extreme old age, yet could never reconcile himſelf to the thoughts of death. The boldneſs of his opinions and ſentiments, form a remarkable contraſt to this part of his character. CHAP. LXII. 1660.

HARRINGTON's Oceana was well adapted to that age, when the plans of imaginary republics were the daily ſubjects of debate and converſation; and even in our time it is juſtly admired as a work of genius and invention. The idea however of a perfect and immortal Commonwealth will always be found as chimerical as that of a perfect and immortal man. The ſtyle of this author wants eaſe and fluency; but the good matter, which his work contains, makes ample compenſation.

HARVEY is intitled to the glory of having made, by reaſoning alone, without any mixture of accident, a capital diſcovery in one of the moſt important branches of ſcience. He had alſo the happineſs of eſtabliſhing at once his theory on the moſt ſolid and convincing proofs;

CHAP. LXII.

1659. and posterity has added little to the arguments suggested by his industry and ingenuity. His treatise of the circulation of the blood is farther embellished by that warmth and spirit, which so naturally accompany the genius of invention. This great man was much favoured by Charles the first, who gave him the liberty of using all the deer in the royal forests for perfecting his discoveries on the generation of animals.

THIS age affords great materials for history; but did not produce any accomplished historian. Clarendon, however, will always be esteemed an entertaining author, even independant of our curiosity to know the facts, which he relates. His style is prolix and redundant, and suffocates us by the length of its periods: But it discovers imagination and sentiment, and pleases us at the same time that we disapprove of it. He is more partial in appearance than in reality: For he seems perpetually anxious to apologize for the King; but his apologies are often well grounded. He is less partial in his relation of facts, than in his account of characters: He was too honest a man to falsify the former; his affections were easily capable, unknown to himself, of disguising the latter. An air of probity and goodness runs through the whole work; as these qualities did in reality embellish the whole life of the author.

THESE are the chief performances, which engage the attention of posterity. Those numberless productions, with which the press then abounded; the cant of the pulpit, the declamations of party, the subtilties of theology; all these have long ago sunk into silence and oblivion. Even a writer, such as Selden, whose learning was his chief excellency; or Chillingworth, an accute disputant against the papists, will scarce ever be ranked among the classics of our language or country.

CHARLES II.

CHAP. LXIII.

New miniſtry.——Act of Indemnity.——Settlement of the revenue.——Trial and execution of the regicides.——Diſſolution of the convention.——Parliament.——Prelacy reſtored.——Inſurrection of the Millenarians.——Affairs of Scotland.——Conference at the Savoy.——Arguments for and againſt a comprehenſion.——A new Parliament.——Biſhops ſeats reſtored.——Corporation act.——Act of uniformity.——King's marriage.——Trial of Vane.——And execution.——Preſbyterian clergy ejected.——Dunkirk ſold to the French.——Declaration of indulgence.——Decline of Clarendon's credit.

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

CHARLES the ſecond, when he aſcended the throne of his anceſtors, was thirty years of age. He poſſeſſed a vigorous conſtitution, a fine ſhape, a manly figure, a graceful air; and though his features were harſh, yet was his countenance in the main lively and engaging. He was in that period of life, when there remains enough of youth to render the perſon amiable, without diminiſhing that authority and regard, which attend the years of experience and maturity. Tenderneſs was excited by the memory of his recent adverſities. His preſent proſperity was the object rather of admiration than of envy. And as the ſudden and

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

surprising revolution, which restored him to his regal rights, had also restored the nation to peace, law, order, and liberty; no prince ever obtained a crown in more favourable circumstances, or was more blest with the cordial affection and attachment of his subjects.

THIS popularity, the King, by his whole demeanor and behaviour, was well qualified to support and to increase. To a lively wit and quick comprehension, he united a just understanding and a general observation both of men and things. The easiest manners, the most unaffected politeness, the most engaging gaiety accompanied his conversation and address. Accustomed during his exile to live among his courtiers rather like a companion than a monarch, he retained, even while on the throne, that open affability, which was capable of reconciling the most determined republicans to his royal dignity. Totally devoid of resentment, as well from the natural lenity as carelessness of his temper, he insured pardon to the most guilty of his enemies, and left hopes of favour to his most violent opponents. From the whole tenor of his actions and discourse, he seemed desirous of losing the memory of past animosities, and of uniting every party in an affection for their prince and their country.

New ministry.

INTO his council were admitted the most eminent men of the nation, without regard to former distinctions: The presbyterians, equally with the royalists, shared this honour. Annesley was also created Earl of Anglesey; Ashley Cooper Lord Ashley; Denzil Hollis Lord Hollis. The Earl of Manchester was appointed Lord Chamberlain, and Lord Say Privy Seal. Calamy and Baxter, presbyterian clergymen, were even made Chaplains to the King.

ADMIRAL MONTAGUE, created Earl of Sandwich, was entitled from his recent services to great favour;

and he obtained it. Monk, created Duke of Albemarle, had performed such signal services, that, according to a vulgar and malignant observation, he ought rather to have expected hatred and ingratitude: Yet was he ever treated by the King with great marks of distinction. Charles's disposition, free from jealousy; and the prudent behaviour of the General, who never over-rated his merits; prevented all those disgusts, which naturally arise in so delicate a situation. The capacity too of Albemarle was not extensive, nor were his parts shining. Though he had distinguished himself in inferior stations, he was found, upon familiar acquaintance, to be unequal to those great atchievements, which fortune had enabled him to perform; and he appeared unfit for the court, a scene of life to which he had never been accustomed. Morrice, his friend, was created Secretary of State, and was supported more by his patron's credit than by his own ability or experience. CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

But the choice, which the King at first made of his principal ministers and favourites, was the circumstance, which chiefly gave contentment to the nation, and prognosticated future happiness and tranquillity. Sir Edward Hyde, created Earl of Clarendon, was Chancellor and Prime Minister: The Marquess, created Duke, of Ormond, was Lord Steward of the Household: The Earl of Southampton, High Treasurer: Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State. These men, united together in the strictest friendship, and combining in the same laudable inclinations, supported each others credit, and pursued the interest of the public.

Agreeable to the present prosperity of public affairs was the universal joy and festivity diffused throughout the nation. The melancholy austerity of the fanatics fell into discredit together with their principles. The royalists, who had ever affected a contrary disposition,

CHAP. LXIX. 1660.

found in their recent success new motives for mirth and gaiety; and it now belonged to them to give repute and fashion to their manners. From past experience it had sufficiently appeared, that gravity was very distinct from wisdom, formality from virtue, and hypocrisy from religion. The King himself, who bore a strong propensity to pleasure and society, served, by his powerful and engaging example, to banish those sour and malignant humours, which had hitherto engendered such confusion. And though the just bounds were undoubtedly passed, when men return from their former extreme; yet was the public happy in exchanging vices pernicious to society for disorders hurtful chiefly to the individuals themselves, who were guilty of them.

It required some time before the several parts of the state, disfigured by war and faction, could recover their former arrangement: But the parliament immediately entered into a good correspondence with the King, and they treated him with the same dutiful regard, which had usually been payed to his predecessors. Being summoned without the King's consent, they received, at first, only the title of a convention; and it was not till the King passed an act for that purpose, that they were called by the appellation of parliament. All judicial proceedings, transacted in the name of the Commonwealth or Protector, they thought it requisite to ratify by a new law. And both houses acknowledging the guilt of the former rebellion, in their own name and in that of all the subjects, laid hold of his Majesty's gracious pardon and indemnity.

Act of indemnity.

The King, before his restoration, being afraid of reducing any of his enemies to despair, and at the same time unwilling that such enormous crimes as had been committed should receive a total impunity, had expressed himself very cautiously in his declaration of

Breda,

Breda, and had promiſed an indemnity to all criminals, but ſuch as ſhould be excepted by the parliament. He now iſſued a proclamation, declaring that ſuch of the late King's judges as did not yield themſelves priſoners within fourteen days ſhould receive no pardon. Nineteen ſurrendered themſelves: Some were taken in their flight: Others eſcaped beyond ſea. CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

THE Commons ſeem to have been more inclined to lenity than the Lords. The upper houſe, inflamed with the ill uſage, which they had received, were reſolved, beſides the late King's judges, to except every one, who had ſat in any high court of juſtice. Nay, the Earl of Briſtol moved, that no pardon might be granted to thoſe who had any way contributed to the King's death. So wide an exception, in which every one, who had ſerved the parliament, might be comprehended, gave a general alarm; and men began to apprehend, that this motion was the effect of ſome court artifice or intrigue. But the King ſoon diſſipated theſe fears. He came to the houſe of Peers; and in the moſt earneſt terms, preſſed the act of general indemnity. He urged both the neceſſity of the thing, and the obligation of his former promiſe: A promiſe, he ſaid, which he would ever regard as ſacred; ſince to it he probably owed the ſatisfaction, which at preſent he enjoyed, of meeting his people in parliament. This meaſure of the King, though irregular, by his taking notice of a bill which depended before the houſes, was received with great applauſe and ſatisfaction.

AFTER repeated ſollicitations from the King, the act of indemnity paſſed both houſes, and ſoon received the royal aſſent. Thoſe who had an immediate hand in the King's death, were there excepted: Even Cromwel, Ireton, Bradſhaw, and others now dead were attainted, and their eſtates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, tho' none of the King's judges, were alſo excepted. St. John

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

John and seventeen persons more were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they ever accepted any public employment. All who had sat in any illegal high court of justice were disabled from bearing offices. These were all the severities, which followed such furious civil wars and convulsions.

Settlement of the revenue.

THE next business was the settlement of the King's revenue. In this work, the parliament had regard to public freedom as well as to the support of the crown. The tenures of wards and liveries had long been regarded as a grievance by all lovers of liberty: Several attempts had been made during the reign of James to purchase this prerogative together with that of purveyance; and 200,000 pounds a year had been offered that Prince in lieu of them. During the time of the republic, wardships and purveyance had been utterly abolished. And even in the present parliament, before the King arrived in England, a bill had been introduced, offering him a compensation for these revenues. A hundred thousand pounds a year was the sum, which the parliament agreed to; and half of the excise was settled in perpetuity upon the crown as the fund whence that revenue should be levied. Though that impost yielded more profit, the bargain might be esteemed hard; and it was chiefly the necessity of the King's situation, which induced him to consent to it. No request of the parliament, during the present joy, could be refused them.

NOT only the power of the crown, by means of wardships and purveyance, was very considerable: It was also unequal and personal; and consequently, of a nature unsuitable to a monarchy, subjected to strict and regular limitations. The uniformity, therefore, of the political system seemed to require the abolition of these Gothic institutions; though it might perhaps appear unjust,

unjuſt, that an advantage, which chiefly reſulted to the proprietors of land, ſhould be purchaſed by an impoſt, that affected every inhabitant of the kingdom. CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

TONNAGE and poundage and the other half of the exciſe were granted to the King during life. The parliament even proceeded ſo far as to vote that the ſettled revenue of the crown for all charges ſhould be 1200,000 pounds a year; a ſum larger than any Engliſh monarch had ever before enjoyed. The late King's revenue from 1637 to the meeting of the long parliament appeared to be at a medium near 900,000 pounds a year; of which 200,000 pounds aroſe from branches, partly illegal, partly expired. The misfortunes of that Prince were now believed to have proceeded originally from the narrowneſs of his revenue, and from the obſtinacy of his parliaments, who had refuſed him the neceſſary ſupply. And as all the monarchs of Europe were perpetually augmenting their forces, and conſequently their expences, it became requiſite that England, from motives both of honour and ſecurity, ſhould bear ſome proportion to them, and adapt its revenue to the new ſyſtem of politics, which prevailed. According to the Chancellor's computation, a charge of 800,000 pounds a year, was at preſent required for the fleet and other articles, which formerly coſt the crown but eighty thouſand.

HAD the parliament, before reſtoring the King, inſiſted on any farther limitations than thoſe which the conſtitution already impoſed; beſides the danger of inflaming the antient quarrels among parties; it would ſeem, that their caution had been entirely ſuperfluous. By reaſon of its ſlender and precarious revenue, the crown in effect was ſtill totally dependant. Not a fourth part of this ſum, which ſeemed requiſite for public expences, could be levied without conſent of parliament; and any conceſſions, had they been thought neceſſary,

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

ceſſary, might, even after the reſtoration, be extorted by the Commons from their neceſſitous Prince. This parliament ſhowed no intention of employing at preſent that engine to any ſuch purpoſes; but they ſeemed ſtill determined not to part with it entirely, or to render the revenues of the crown fixed and independant. Though they voted in general, that 1200,000 pounds a year ſhould be ſettled on the King, they aſſigned not any funds, which could yield two thirds of that ſum. And they left the care of fulfilling their engagements to the future conſideration of parliament.

In all the temporary ſupplies, which they voted, they diſcovered the ſame cautious frugality. To diſband the army, ſo formidable in itſelf, and ſo much accuſtomed to rebellion and changes of government, was neceſſary for the ſecurity both of King and parliament; yet the Commons ſhowed great jealouſy in granting the ſums, requiſite for that purpoſe. An aſſeſſment of 70,000 pounds a month was impoſed: but it was at firſt voted, to continue only for three months: And all the other ſums, which, by a poll-bill and new aſſeſſments, they levied for that uſe, they ſtill granted by parcels; as if they were not, as yet, well aſſured of the fidelity of that hand, to which the money was committed. Having proceeded ſo far in the ſettlement of the nation, the parliament adjourned themſelves for ſome time.

13th of September.

Trial and execution of the regicides.

During the receſs of parliament, the object, which chiefly intereſted the public, was the trial and condemnation of the regicides. The general indignation, which attended the enormous crime, of which theſe men had been guilty, made their ſufferings the ſubject of joy to the people: But in the peculiar circumſtances of that action, in the prejudices of the times, as well as in the behaviour of the criminals, a mind, ſeaſoned with humanity, will find a plentiful ſource of compaſſion and indulgence. Can any one, without the utmoſt

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

most concern for human blindness and ignorance, consider the demeanor of General Harrison, who was first brought to his trial? With great courage and elevation of sentiment, he told the court, that the pretended crime, of which he stood accused, was not a deed, performed in a corner: The sound of it had gone forth to most nations; and in the singular and marvellous conduct of it had chiefly appeared the sovereign power of heaven. That he himself, agitated by doubts, had often, with passionate tears, offered his addresses to the divine majesty; and earnestly sought for light and conviction: He had still received assurance of a heavenly sanction, and returned from these devout supplications with more serene tranquillity and satisfaction. That all the nations of the earth, in the eyes of their creator, were less than a drop of water in the bucket; nor were their erroneous judgments aught but darkness compared with divine illuminations. That these frequent inapses of the divine spirit he could not suspect to be interested illusions; since he was conscious, that, for no temporal advantage, would he offer injury to the poorest man or woman who trod upon the earth. That all the allurements of ambition, all the terrors of imprisonment, had not been able, during the usurpation of Cromwel, to shake his steddy resolution or bend him to a compliance with that deceitful tyrant. And that when invited by him to sit on the right hand of the throne, when offered riches and splendor and dominion, he had disdainfully rejected all temptations; and neglecting the tears of his friends and family, had still, through every danger, held fast his principles and his integrity.

Scot, who was more a republican than a fanatic, had said in the house of Commons, a little before the restoration, that he desired no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb-stone than this; *Here lies Thomas*

Scot,

CHAP. LXIII.

Scot, who adjudged the King to death. He ſupported the ſame ſpirit upon his trial.

1660. CAREW, a Millenarian, ſubmitted to his trial, *ſaving to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt his right to the government of theſe kingdoms.* Some ſcrupled to ſay, according to form, that they would be tried by God and their country; becauſe God was not viſibly preſent to judge them. Others ſaid, that they would be tried by the word of God.

No more than ſix of the late King's judges, Harriſon, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scrope, were executed: Scrope alone, of all thoſe who came in upon the King's proclamation. He was a gentleman of a good family and of a decent character: But it was proved, that he had lately, in converſation, expreſſed himſelf as if he were no wiſe convinced of his guilt in condemning the King. Axtel, who had guarded the high court of juſtice, Hacker, who commanded on the day of the King's execution, Coke, the ſollicitor for the people of England, and Hugh Peters, the furious preacher, who inflamed the army to regicide: All theſe were tried, and condemned, and ſuffered with the King's judges. No ſaint nor confeſſor ever went to martyrdom with more aſſured confidence of heaven than was expreſſed by thoſe criminals, even when the terrors of immediate death, joined to many indignities, were ſet before them. The reſt of the King's judges, by an unexampled lenity, were reprieved; and they were diſperſed into ſeveral priſons.

13th of September. THIS puniſhment of declared enemies no wiſe interrupted the rejoicings of the court: But the death of the Duke of Gloceſter, a young Prince of very promiſing hopes, threw a great cloud upon them. The King, by no incident in his life, was ever ſo deeply affected.

affected. Gloceſter was obſerved to poſſeſs united the good qualities of both his brothers: The clear judgment and penetration of the King; the induſtry and application of the Duke of York. He was alſo believed to be affectionate to the religion and conſtitution of his country. He was but twenty years of age, when the ſmall pox put an end to his life. CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

THE Princeſs of Orange, having come to England, in order to partake of the joy, attending the reſtoration of her family, with whom ſhe lived in great friendſhip, ſoon after ſickned and died. The Queen-mother payed a viſit to her ſon; and obtained his conſent to the marriage of the Princeſs Henrietta, with the Duke of Orleans, brother to the French King.

AFTER a receſs of near two months, the parliament met, and proceeded in the great work of the national ſettlement. They eſtabliſhed the poſt-office, wine-licences, and ſome articles of the revenue. They granted more aſſeſſments, and ſome arrears for paying and diſbanding the army. Buſineſs, being carried on with great unanimity, was ſoon diſpatched: And after they had ſat near two months, the King in a ſpeech full of the moſt gracious expreſſions, thought proper to diſſolve them. 6th of November. Diſſolution of the Convention Parliament. 29th of December.

THIS Houſe of Commons had been choſen during the reign of the old parliamentary party; and though many royaliſts had crept in amongſt them, yet did it chiefly conſiſt of preſbyterians, who had not yet entirely laid aſide their old jealouſies and principles. Lenthal, a member, having ſaid, that thoſe who firſt took arms againſt the King, were as guilty as thoſe, who afterwards brought him to the ſcaffold, was ſeverely reprimanded by order of the houſe; and the moſt violent efforts of the Long Parliament to ſecure the conſtitution, and bring delinquents to juſtice, were in effect vindicated

and

CHAP. LXII. 1660.

and applauded. The claim of the two houſes to the militia, the firſt ground of the quarrel, however exorbitant an uſurpation, this parliament was never brought expreſsly to reſign. All grants of money they made with a very ſparing hand. Great arrears being due by the late Protector, to the fleet, the army, the navy-office, and every branch of ſervice; this whole debt they threw upon the crown, without eſtabliſhing funds ſufficient for its payment. Yet notwithſtanding this jealous care expreſſed by the parliament, there prevails a ſtory, that Popham, having ſounded the diſpoſition of the members, undertook to the Earl of Southampton to procure, during the King's life, a grant of two millions a year, land tax; a ſum, which, joined to the cuſtoms and exciſe, would for ever have rendered this Prince independant of his people. Southampton, it is ſaid, merely from his affection to the King, had unwarily embraced the offer; and it was not till he communicated the matter to the Chancellor, that he was made ſenſible of its pernicious tendency. It is not improbable, that ſuch an offer might have been made, and been hearkened to; but it is no wiſe probable, that all the intereſt of the court would ever, with this Houſe of Commons, have been able to make it effectual. Clarendon ſhowed his prudence, no leſs than his integrity, in entirely rejecting it.

THE Chancellor, from the ſame principles of conduct, haſtened to diſband the army. When the King reviewed theſe veteran troops, he was ſtruck with their beauty, order, diſcipline, and martial appearance; and being ſenſible, that regular forces are moſt neceſſary implements of royalty, he expreſſed a deſire of finding expedients ſtill to retain them. But his wiſe miniſter ſet before him the dangerous ſpirit by which theſe troops were animated, their enthuſiaſtic genius, their habits of rebellion and mutiny; and he convinced the King, that

that till they were disbanded, he never could esteem himself securely established on his throne. No more troops were retained than a few guards and garrisons, about 1000 horse, and 4000 foot. This was the first appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular standing army in England. The fortifications of Gloucester, Taunton, and other towns, which had made resistance to the King during the civil wars, were also demolished. CHAP. LXII. 1660.

CLARENDON not only behaved with great wisdom and justice in the office of Chancellor: All the councils, which he gave the King, tended equally to promote the interest of Prince and people. Charles, accustomed in his exile to pay entire deference to the judgement of that faithful servant, continued still to submit to his direction; and for some time no minister was ever possessed of more absolute authority. He moderated the forward zeal of the royalists, and tempered their appetite for revenge. With the opposite party, he endeavoured to preserve inviolate all the King's engagements: He kept an exact register of every promise which had been made for any services, and he employed all his industry to fulfil them. This good minister was now very nearly allied to the royal family. His daughter, Anne Hyde, a woman of spirit and fine accomplishments, had hearkened, while abroad, to the addresses of the Duke of York, and under promise of marriage, had secretly admitted him to her bed. Her pregnancy soon appeared after the restoration; and though many endeavoured to dissuade the Duke from so unequal an alliance, the King, in pity to his friend and minister, who had been totally ignorant of these engagements, obliged his brother to marry her. Clarendon expressed great uneasiness, at the honour, which he had obtained; and said, that, by being elevated so much above his rank, he thence dreaded a more sudden downfal.

CHAP. LXIII.

1660, Prelacy restored.

Most circumstances of Clarendon's administration have met with applause: His maxims alone in the conduct of ecclesiastical politics have by many been deemed the effect of prejudices, narrow and bigotted. Had the jealousy of royal power prevailed so far with the Convention Parliament as to make them restore the King upon strict limitations, there is no question but the establishment of presbyterian discipline had been one of the conditions most rigidly insisted on. Not only that form of ecclesiastical government is more favourable to liberty than to royal power: It was likewise on its own account, agreeable to the majority of the House of Commons, and suited their religious principles. But as the impatience of the people, the danger of delay, the general disgust towards faction, and the authority of Monk had prevailed over that jealous project of limitations, the full settlement of the hierarchy, together with the monarchy, was a necessary and infallible consequence. All the royalists were zealous for that mode of religion; the merits of the episcopal clergy towards the King, as well as their sufferings on that account, had been very great; the laws, which established bishops and the liturgy, were as yet unrepealed by legal authority; and any attempt of the parliament, by new acts, to give the superiority to presbyterianism, had been sufficient to involve again the nation in blood and confusion. Moved by these views, the Commons had very wisely postponed the examination of all religious controversy, and had left entirely the settlement of the church to the King and to the antient laws.

The King at first used great moderation in the execution of the laws. Nine bishops still remained alive; and these were immediately restored to their dioceses: All the ejected clergy recovered their livings: The liturgy, a form of worship very decent, and not without beauty, was again admitted into the churches: But at the

the ſame time, a declaration was iſſued, in order to give contentment to the preſbyterians, and preſerve an air of moderation and neutrality. In that declaration, the King promiſed, that he would provide ſuffragan biſhops for the larger dioceſes; that the prelates ſhould, all of them, be regular and conſtant preachers; that they ſhould not confer ordination, or exerciſe any juriſdiction, without the advice and aſſiſtance of preſbyters, choſen by the dioceſe; that ſuch alterations ſhould be made in the liturgy, as would render it totally unexceptionable; that in the mean time, the uſe of that mode of worſhip ſhould not be impoſed on ſuch as were unwilling to receive it; and that the ſurplice, the croſs in baptiſm, and bowing at the name of Jeſus ſhould not be rigidly inſiſted on. This declaration the King iſſued as head of the church; and he plainly aſſumed, in many parts of it, a legiſlative authority in eccleſiaſtical matters. But the Engliſh government, though more exactly defined by late conteſts, was not, as yet, reduced, in every particular, to the ſtrict limits of law. And if ever prerogative was juſtifiably employed, it ſeemed to be on the preſent occaſion; when all parts of the ſtate were torne with paſt convulſions, and required the moderating hand of the chief magiſtrate, to reduce them to their antient order.

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

But though theſe appearances of neutrality were maintained, and a mitigated epiſcopacy only ſeemed to be inſiſted on, it was far from the intention of the miniſtry always to preſerve like regard to the preſbyterians. The madneſs of the Fifth-Monarchy-men afforded them a pretence for departing from it. Venner, a deſperate enthuſiaſt, who had often conſpired againſt Cromwel, having, by his zealous lectures, inflamed his own imagination and that of his followers, iſſued forth with them into the ſtreets of London. They were to the number of ſixty, compleatly armed, believed themſelves invul-

Inſurrection of the Millenarians.

CHAP. LXIII.

1660.

invulnerable and invincible, and firmly expected the ſame fortune, which had attended Gideon and other heroes of the Old Teſtament. Every one at firſt fled before them. One unhappy man, who, being queſtioned, ſaid, "He was for God and King Charles," they inſtantly murdered. They went triumphantly from ſtreet to ſtreet, every where proclaiming King Jeſus, who, they ſaid, was their inviſible leader. At length, the magiſtrates, having aſſembled ſome train-bands, made an attack upon them. They defended themſelves with great order as well as valour; and after killing many of the aſſailants, they made a regular retreat into Cane-Wood near Hampſtead. Next morning, they were chaced thence by a detachment of the guards; but they ventured again to invade the city, which was not prepared to receive them. After committing great diſorder, and traverſing almoſt every ſtreet of that immenſe capital, they ſhut up themſelves in a houſe, which they were reſolute to defend to the laſt extremity. Being ſurrounded, and the houſe untiled, they were fired upon from every ſide; and they ſtill refuſed quarter. The people ruſhed in upon them, and ſeized the few who were alive. They were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the laſt they perſiſted in affirming, that, if they were deceived, it was the Lord that had deceived them.

CLARENDON and the miniſtry took occaſion from this inſurrection to infer the dangerous ſpirit of the preſbyterians and of all the ſectaries: But the madneſs of the attempt ſufficiently proved, that it had been undertaken by no concert, and never could have proved dangerous. The well known hatred too, which prevailed between the preſbyterians and the other ſects, ſhould have removed the former from all ſuſpicion of any concurrence in the enterprize. But as a pretence was wanted, beſides their old demerits, for juſtifying the

the intended rigours againſt them, this reaſon, however ſlight, was very greedily laid hold of.

1660. Affairs of Scotland.

THE affairs in Scotland haſtened with ſtill quicker ſteps than thoſe in England towards a ſettlement and a compliance with the King. It was deliberated in the Engliſh council, whether that nation ſhould be reſtored to its liberty, or whether the forts, erected by Cromwel, ſhould not ſtill be upheld, in order to curb the mutinous ſpirit, by which the Scots in all ages had been ſo much governed. Lauderdale, who from the battle of Worceſter to the reſtoration, had been detained a priſoner in the Tower, had conſiderable influence with the King; and he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this violent meaſure. He repreſented, that it was the loyalty of the Scots nation, which had engaged them in oppoſition to the Engliſh rebels; and that to take advantage of the calamities, into which, on that account, they had fallen, would be regarded as the higheſt injuſtice and ingratitude: That the ſpirit of that people was now fully ſubdued by the long ſervitude, under which the uſurpers had detained them, and would of itſelf yield to any reaſonable compliance with their legal ſovereign, if, by his means, they recovered their liberty and independence: That the attachment of the Scots towards their King, whom they regarded as their native Prince, was naturally much ſtronger than that of the Engliſh; and would afford him a ſure reſource, in caſe of any rebellion among the latter: That republican principles had long been, and ſtill were, very prevalent with his ſouthern ſubjects, and might again menace the throne with new tumults and reſiſtance. That the time would probably come, when the King, inſtead of deſiring to ſee Engliſh garriſons in Scotland, would be better pleaſed to have Scots garriſons in England, who, ſupported by Engliſh pay, would be fond to curb the ſeditious genius of that opulent nation: And that a

CHAP. LXIII. 1660. people, such as the Scots, governed by a few nobility, would more easily be reduced to submission under monarchy, than one, like the English, who breathed nothing but the spirit of democratical equality.

1661. 1st of January. THESE views induced the King to disband all the forces in Scotland, and to raze all the forts, which had been erected. General Middleton, created Earl of that name, was sent commissioner to the parliament, which was summoned. A very compliant spirit was there discovered in all orders of men. The commissioner had even sufficient influence to obtain an act, annulling, at once, all laws, which had passed since the year 1633; on pretext of the violence, which, during that time, had been employed against the King and his father, in order to procure their assent to these statutes. This was a very large, if not an unexampled concession: and, together with many dangerous limitations, overthrew some useful barriers, which had been erected to the constitution. But the tide was now running strongly towards monarchy; and the Scots nation plainly discovered, that their past resistence had proceeded more from the turbulency of their aristocracy and the bigotry of their ecclesiastics, than from any fixed passion towards civil liberty. The Lords of articles were restored, with some exorbitant branches of prerogative; and royal authority, fortified with more plausible claims and pretences, was, in its full extent, re-established in that kingdom.

THE prelacy likewise, by the abrogating every statute, enacted in favour of presbytery, was thereby tacitely restored; and the King deliberated what use he should make of this concession. Lauderdale, who at bottom was a passionate zealot against episcopacy, endeavoured to perswade him, that the Scots, if gratified in this favourite point of ecclesiastical government, would,

would, in every other demand, be entirely compliant with the King. Charles, though he had no ſuch attachment to prelacy as had influenced his father and grandfather, had ſuffered ſuch indignities from the Scots preſbyterians, that he ever after bore them a moſt hearty averſion. He ſaid to Lauderdale, that preſbyterianiſm, he thought, was not a religion for a gentleman; and he could not conſent to its farther continuance in Scotland. Middleton too and his other miniſters perſuaded him, that the nation in general were ſo diſguſted with the violence and tyranny of the eccleſiaſtics, that any alteration of church government would be univerſally grateful. And Clarendon, as well as Ormond, dreading that the preſbyterian ſect, if legally eſtabliſhed in Scotland, would acquire authority in England and Ireland, ſeconded the application of theſe miniſters. The reſolution was therefore taken to reſtore prelacy; a meaſure afterwards attended with many and great inconveniencies: But whether in this reſolution the King did not chuſe the leſs evil, it is very difficult to determine. Sharpe, who had been commiſſioned by the preſbyterians in Scotland to manage their intereſt with the King, was perſuaded to abandon that party; and as a reward for his compliance, was created Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's. The management of eccleſiaſtical affairs was chiefly intruſted to him; and as he was deemed a traitor and a renegade by his old friends, he became, on that account, as well as from the violence of his conduct, extremely obnoxious to them.

CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

CHARLES had not promiſed to Scotland any ſuch indemnity as by his declaration of Breda he had enſured to England: And it was deemed more political for him to hold over men's heads, for ſome time, the terror of puniſhment; till they ſhould have made the requiſite compliance with the new eſtabliſhed government. Tho'

CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

neither the King's temper nor plan of adminiſtration led him to ſeverity; ſome examples, after ſuch a bloody and triumphant rebellion, ſeemed neceſſary; and the Marquiſs of Argyle and one Guthry, were pitched on as the victims. Two acts of indemnity, one paſſed by the late King in 1641, another by the preſent in 1651, formed, it was thought, invincible obſtacles to the puniſhment of Argyle; and barred all enquiry into that part of his conduct, which might juſtly be regarded as the moſt exceptionable. Nothing remained but to try him for his compliance with the uſurpation; a crime common to him with the whole nation, and ſuch a one as the moſt loyal and affectionate ſubject might frequently by violence be obliged to commit. To make this compliance appear the more voluntary and hearty, there were produced in court letters which he had wrote to Albemarle, while that General governed Scotland, and which contained expreſſions of the moſt cordial attachment. But beſides the general indignation, excited by Albemarle's diſcovery of this private correſpondence; men thought, that even the higheſt demonſtrations of affection might, during jealous times, be exacted as a neceſſary mark of compliance from a perſon of ſuch diſtinction as Argyle, and could not, by any equitable conſtruction, imply the crime of treaſon. The parliament, however, was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of ſervile complaiſance as to paſs ſentence upon him: and he died with great conſtancy and courage. As he was univerſally known to have been the chief inſtrument of paſt diſorders and civil wars, the irregularity of his ſentence, and ſeveral iniquitous circumſtances in the method of conducting his trial, ſeemed on that account to admit of ſome apology. The Lord Lorne, ſon to Argyle, having ever preſerved his loyalty, obtained a gift of the forfeiture. Guthry was a ſeditious preacher, and had perſonally affronted the King: His puniſhment

gave

gave surprize to no body. Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston was attainted and fled; but was seized in France about two years after, brought over and executed. He had been very active, during all the late disorders; and was even suspected of a secret combination with the English regicides. CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

Besides these instances of compliance in the Scots parliament, they voted an additional revenue to the King of 40,000 pounds a year, to be levied by way of excise. A small force was proposed to be maintained by this revenue, in order to prevent like confusions with those to which the kingdom had been hitherto exposed. An act was also passed, declaring the covenant to be unlawful, and its obligation void and null. This was a violent shock to the bigotted prejudices of the nation.

In England, the civil distinctions seemed to be abolished by the lenity and equality of Charles's administration. Cavalier and round-head were heard of no more: All men seemed to concur in submitting to the King's lawful prerogatives, and in cherishing the just privileges of the people and of parliament. Theological controversy alone still subsisted, and kept alive some sparks of that flame, which had thrown the nation into such combustion. While catholics, independants, and other sectaries were contented with entertaining some prospect of toleration; prelacy and presbytery struggled for the superiority, and the hopes and fears of both parties kept them in agitation. A conference was held in the Savoy between twelve bishops and twelve leaders among the presbyterian ministers, with an intention, or at least on pretence, of bringing about an accommodation between the parties. The surplice, the cross in baptism, the kneeling at the sacrament, the bowing at the name of Jesus, were anew canvassed; and the ignorant multitude were in hopes, that so many men of gravity and learning

Conference at the Savoy, 25th of March.

CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

learning could not fail, after deliberate argumentation, to agree in all points of controverſy: They were ſurprized to ſee them ſeparate more inflamed than ever, and more confirmed in their ſeveral prejudices. To enter into particulars would be ſuperfluous. Diſputes concerning religious forms are often, in themſelves, the moſt frivolous of any; and merit attention only ſo far as they have influence on the peace and order of civil ſociety.

Arguments for and againſt a comprehenſion.

THE King's declaration had promiſed that ſome endeavours ſhould be uſed to effect a comprehenſion of both parties; and Charles's own indifference with regard to all ſuch queſtions ſeemed a very favourable circumſtance for the execution of that project. The partizans of a comprehenſion ſaid, that the preſbyterians as well as the prelatiſts, having felt by experience the fatal effects of mutual obſtinacy and violence, were now well diſpoſed towards an amicable agreement; that the biſhops, by relinquiſhing ſome part of their authority, and diſpenſing with the moſt exceptionable ceremonies, would ſo gratify their adverſaries as to obtain their cordial and affectionate compliance, and unite the whole nation in one faith and one worſhip; that by obſtinately inſiſting on forms, in themſelves inſignificant, an air of importance was beſtowed on them, and men were taught to continue equally obſtinate in rejecting them; that the preſbyterian clergy would go every reaſonable length, rather than by parting with their livings, expoſe themſelves to a ſtate of beggary, or at beſt of dependance; and that if their pride were flattered by ſome ſeeming alterations, and a pretence given them for affirming, that they had not abandoned their former principles, nothing farther was neceſſary to produce a thorough union between thoſe two parties, which comprehended the bulk of the nation.

IT

CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

It was alleged on the other hand, that the difference between religious ſects was founded, not on principle, but on paſſion; and till the irregular affections of men could be corrected, it was in vain to expect, by compliances, to obtain a perfect unanimity and comprehenſion; that the more inſignificant the objects of diſpute appeared, with the more certainty might it be inferred, that the real ground of diſſenſion was different from that which was univerſally pretended, that the love of novelty, the pride of argumentation, the pleaſure of making proſelytes, and the obſtinacy of contradiction, would for ever give riſe to ſects and diſputes, nor was it poſſible that ſuch a ſource of diſſention could ever, by any conceſſions, be entirely exhauſted; that the church, by departing from antient practices and principles, would tacitly acknowlege herſelf guilty of error, and loſe that reverence, ſo requiſite for preſerving the attachment of the multitude; and that if the preſent conceſſions (which was more than probable) ſhould prove ineffectual, greater muſt ſtill be made; and in the iſſue, diſcipline would be deſpoiled of all its authority, and worſhip of all its decency, without obtaining that end, which had been ſo fondly ſought for by theſe dangerous indulgences.

The miniſtry were inclined to give the preference to the latter arguments; and were the more confirmed in that intention by the diſpoſition, which appeared in the parliament lately aſſembled. The royaliſts and zealous churchmen were at preſent the popular party in the nation, and, ſeconded by the efforts of the court, had prevailed in almoſt every election. Not more than fifty-ſix members of the preſbyterian party had obtained ſeats in the lower houſe [q]; and theſe were able neither to oppoſe nor retard the meaſures of the majority. Monarchy, therefore, and epiſcopacy, were now exalted

A new parliament. 8th of May.

[q] Carte's Anſwer to the Byſtander, p. 79.

to

CHAP. LXIII.

1661.

to as great power and ſplendor as they had lately ſuffered miſery and depreſſion. Sir Edward Turner was choſen ſpeaker.

An act was paſſed for the ſecurity of the King's perſon and government. To intend or deviſe the King's impriſonment, or bodily harm, or depoſition, or the levying war againſt him, is declared, during the lifetime of his preſent Majeſty, to be high treaſon. To affirm him to be a papiſt or heretic, or to endeavour by ſpeech or writing to alienate his ſubjects affections from him; theſe offences were made ſufficient to incapacitate the perſon guilty from holding any employment in church or ſtate. To maintain that the Long Parliament is not diſſolved, or that either or both Houſes, without the King, are poſſeſſed of legiſlative authority, or that the covenant is binding; was made puniſhable by the penalty of præmunire.

The covenant itſelf, together with the act for erecting the high court of juſtice, that for ſubſcribing the engagement, and that for declaring England a Commonwealth, were ordered to be burned by the hands of the hangman. The people aſſiſted with great alacrity on this occaſion.

The abuſes of petitioning in the precedent reign had been attended with the worſt conſequences; and to prevent ſuch irregular practices for the future, it was enacted, that no more than twenty hands ſhould be ſubſcribed to any petition, unleſs with the ſanction of three juſtices, or the major part of the grand jury; and that no petition ſhould be preſented to the King or either houſe by above ten perſons. The penalty for a tranſgreſſion of this law was a fine of a hundred pounds and three months impriſonment.

Biſhops' ſeats reſtored.

The biſhops, though reſtored to their ſpiritual authority, were ſtill excluded from parliament by the law, which

which the late King had paſſed, immediately before the commencement of the civil diſorders. Great violence, both againſt the King and the Houſe of Peers, had been employed in paſſing this law; and on that account alone, the partizans of the church were provided of a very plauſible pretence for repealing it. Charles expreſſed much ſatisfaction, when he gave his aſſent to the act for that purpoſe. It is certain, that the authority of the crown, as well as that of the church, was intereſted in reſtoring the prelates to their former dignity. But thoſe who eſteemed every acquiſition of the Prince a detriment to the people, were apt to complain of this inſtance of complaiſance in the parliament. CHAP. LXIII. 1661.

After an adjournment of ſome months, the parliament was again aſſembled, and proceeded in the ſame ſpirit as before. They diſcovered no deſign of reſtoring, in its full extent, the antient prerogatives of the crown: They were only anxious to repair all thoſe breaches, which had been made, not by the love of liberty, but by the fury of faction and civil war. The power of the ſword had, in all ages, been allowed to be veſted in the crown; and though no law conferred this prerogative, every parliament, till the laſt of the preceding reign, had willingly ſubmitted to an authority more antient, and therefore more ſacred, than that of any poſitive ſtatute. It was now thought proper ſolemnly to relinquiſh the violent pretenſions of that parliament, and to acknowlege, that neither one houſe, nor both houſes, independant of the King, were poſſeſſed of any military authority. The preamble to this ſtatute went ſo far as to renounce all right even of *defenſive* arms againſt the King; and much obſervation has been made with regard to a conceſſion, eſteemed ſo ſingular. Were thoſe terms taken in their full literal ſenſe, they imply a total renunciation of limitations to monarchy, and of all privileges in the ſubject, independant 20th of November.

CHAP. LXIII.

1661.

dant of the will of the Sovereign. For as no rights can ſubſiſt without ſome remedy, much leſs rights expoſed to ſo much invaſion from tyranny or even from ambition; if ſubjects muſt never reſiſt, it is certain, that every Prince, without any effort, policy, or violence, is at once rendered abſolute and uncontroulable: The Sovereign needs only iſſue an edict, aboliſhing every authority but his own; and all liberty, from that moment, is in effect annihilated. But this meaning it were abſurd to impute to the preſent parliament, who, though zealous royaliſts, ſhowed, in their meaſures, that they had not caſt off all regard to national privileges. They were probably ſenſible, that to ſuppoſe in the Sovereign any ſuch invaſion of public liberty is entirely unconſtitutional; and that therefore expreſsly to reſerve, upon that event, any right of reſiſtance in the ſubject muſt be liable to the ſame objection. They had ſeen that the Long Parliament, under colour of defence, had begun a violent attack upon kingly power; and after involving the kingdom in blood, had finally loſt that liberty, for which they had ſo imprudently contended. They thought, though perhaps erroneouſly, that it was no longer poſſible, after ſuch exorbitant pretenſions, to perſevere in that prudent ſilence, hitherto maintained by the laws, and that it was neceſſary, by ſome poſitive declaration, to bar the return of like inconveniences. When they excluded, therefore, the right of defence, they ſuppoſed, that, the conſtitution remaining firm upon its baſis, there never really could be an attack made by the Sovereign. If ſuch an attack was at any time made, the neceſſity was then extreme: And the caſe of extreme and violent neceſſity, no laws, they thought, could comprehend; becauſe to ſuch a neceſſity no laws could beforehand point out a proper remedy.

THE

CHAP. LXIII.

1661.

THE other measures of this parliament still discovered a more anxious care to guard against rebellion in the subjects than encroachments in the crown: The recent evils of civil war and usurpation had naturally increased the spirit of submission to the monarch, and had thrown the nation into that dangerous extreme. During the violent and jealous government of the parliament and of the Protectors, all magistrates, liable to suspicion, had been expelled the corporations; and none had been admitted, who gave not proofs of affection to the ruling powers, or who refused to subscribe the covenant. To leave all authority in such hands seemed dangerous; and the parliament, therefore, empowered the King to appoint commissioners for regulating the corporations, and expelling such magistrates as either had intruded themselves by violence, or professed principles, dangerous to the constitution, civil and ecclesiastical. It was also enacted, that all magistrates should disclaim the obligation of the covenant, and should declare, both their belief, that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King, and their abhorrence of the traiterous position of taking arms by the King's authority against his person, or against those commissioned by him.

Corporation act.

WHEN the latter part of this oath, the words, *commissioned by him*, which seem the most dangerous to the constitution, came to be debated, it was moved in the House, and earnestly pressed by Sir John Vaughan, an eminent lawyer, that the word, *lawfully*, might be added, in order to remove all difficulties. But the Attorney-General, Sir Heneage Finch, answered, that it was not necessary: The very word, commission, imported it; since any power, not lawfully issued, to lawful persons, and for a lawful purpose, was in reality no commission: And the whole House seemed to assent to this interpretation. The same word, *lawfully*, was endeavoured

CHAP. LXIII.

deavoured to be added by Southampton himſelf, in the Houſe of Peers; but a like anſwer was made by Angleſey. Southampton ſtill inſiſted, that ſuch an addition would clear all obſcurities; and that many, not having heard the particular ſenſe of the parliament, might fancy, that, if any ſort of commiſſion was granted, it would not be lawful to reſiſt it: But that worthy patriot could not prevail. The opinion of both parties, it is to be preſumed, was the ſame; Though the fear of affording a pretence to rebellion made the royaliſts raſhly overlook the danger, to which liberty might be expoſed by ſuch conceſſions. They thought, that in moſt human deliberation, it was difficult, if not impoſſible, to make a choice which was not expoſed to ſome inconvenience. And it is but too uſual for victorious parties, who had ſuffered under oppreſſion, to ſignalize their triumph over their adverſaries, by carrying matters to the extremity moſt oppoſite to that which had formerly prevailed.

1661.

1662. Act of uniformity.

THE care of the church was no leſs prevalent with this parliament than that of monarchy; and the bill of uniformity was a pledge of their ſincere attachment to the epiſcopal hierarchy, and of their antipathy to preſbyterianiſm. Different parties, however, concurred in promoting this bill, which contained many ſevere clauſes. The independants and other ſectaries, enraged to find all their ſchemes ſubverted by the preſbyterians, who had once been their aſſociates, exerted themſelves to diſappoint that party of the favour and indulgence, to which, from their recent merits in promoting the reſtoration, they thought themſelves juſtly entitled. By the preſbyterians, ſaid they, the war was raiſed: By them were the populace firſt incited to tumults: By their zeal, intereſt, and riches were the armies ſupported: By their force was the King ſubdued: And if, in

in the ſequel, they proteſted againſt thoſe extreme violences, committed on his perſon by the military leaders, their oppoſition came too late, after having ſupplied theſe uſurpers with the power and the pretences, by which they maintained their ſanguinary meaſures. They had indeed concurred with the royaliſts in recalling the King: But ought they to be eſteemed, on that account, more affectionate to the royal cauſe? Rage and animoſity, raiſed by diſappointed ambition, were plainly their ſole motives; and if the King ſhould now be ſo imprudent as to diſtinguiſh them by any particular indulgences, he would ſoon experience from them the ſame hatred and oppoſition, which proved ſo fatal to his father. CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

THE catholics, though they had little intereſt in the nation, were a conſiderable party at court; and from their great ſervices and ſufferings, during the civil wars, it ſeemed but juſt to bear them ſome favour and regard. Theſe religioniſts dreaded an entire union among the proteſtants. Were they the ſole nonconformiſts in the nation, the ſevere execution of penal laws upon their ſect ſeemed an infallible conſequence; and they uſed all their intereſt to puſh matters to extremity againſt the preſbyterians, who had formerly been their moſt ſevere oppreſſors, and whom they now expected for their companions in affliction. The Earl of Briſtol, who, from conviction, or intereſt, or levity, or complaiſance for the company with whom he lived, had changed his religion during the King's exile, was regarded as the head of this party.

THE church party had, during ſo many years, ſuffered ſuch injuries and indignities from the ſectaries of every denomination, that no moderation, much leſs deference, was on this occaſion to be expected in their eccleſiaſtics. Even the laity of that communion ſeemed now diſpoſed to retaliate upon their enemies, according to the uſual meaſures of party juſtice. This ſect or

CHAP. LXIII.

1662.

faction (for it was a mixture of both) encouraged the rumours of plots and conſpiracies againſt the government; crimes, which, without any apparent cauſe, they imputed to their adverſaries. And inſtead of enlarging their terms of communion, in order to comprehend the preſbyterians, they gladly laid hold of the prejudices, which prevailed among that ſect, in order to eject them from all their livings. By the bill of uniformity it was required, that every clergyman ſhould be re-ordained, if he had not before received epiſcopal ordination; ſhould declare his aſſent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer; ſhould take the oath of canonical obedience; ſhould abjure the ſolemn league and covenant, and ſhould renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretence whatſoever, againſt the King.

THIS bill re-inſtated the church in the ſame condition, in which it ſtood before the commencement of the civil wars; and as the old perſecuting laws of Elizabeth ſtill ſubſiſted in their full rigor, and new clauſes of a like nature were now enacted, all the King's promiſes of toleration and of indulgence to tender conſciences were thereby eluded and broken. 'Tis true, Charles, in his declaration from Breda, had expreſſed his intention of regulating that indulgence by the advice and authority of parliament: But this limitation could never reaſonably be extended to a total infringement and violation of his promiſe. It is agreed, that the King did not voluntarily concur with this violent meaſure, and that the zeal of Clarendon and of the church party among the Commons, ſeconded by the intrigues of the catholics, was the real cauſe, which extorted his conſent.

THE royaliſts, who now predominated, were very ready to ſignalize their victory, by eſtabliſhing thoſe high principles of monarchy, which their antagoniſts had controverted: But when any real power or revenue

was

1662.

was demanded for the crown, they were neither ſo forward nor ſo liberal in their conceſſions as the King would gladly have wiſhed. Though the parliament paſſed laws for regulating the navy, they took no notice of the army; and declined giving their ſanction to this dangerous innovation. The King's debts were become intolerable; and the Commons were at laſt conſtrained to vote him an extraordinary ſupply of 1,200,000 pounds, to be levied by eighteen months aſſeſſment. But beſides that this ſupply was much inferior to the occaſion, the King was obliged earneſtly to ſollicit the Commons, before he could obtain it; and, in order to convince the Houſe of its abſolute neceſſity, he deſired them to examine ſtrictly into all his receipts and diſburſements. Finding likewiſe upon enquiry, that the ſeveral branches of revenue fell much ſhort of the ſums expected, they at laſt, after much delay, voted a new impoſition of two ſhillings on each hearth; and this tax they ſettled on the King during life. The whole eſtabliſhed revenue, however, did not, for many years, exceed a million [r]; a ſum confeſſedly too narrow for the public expences. A very rigid frugality at leaſt, which the King wanted, would have been requiſite to make it ſuffice for the dignity and ſecurity of the government. After all buſineſs was diſpatched, the parliament was prorogued. 19th of May

King's marriage.

BEFORE the parliament roſe, the court was employed in making preparations for the reception of the new Queen, Catherine of Portugal, to whom the King was betrothed, and who had juſt landed at Portſmouth. During the time, that the Protector carried on the war with Spain, he was naturally led to ſupport the Portugueſe in their revolt; and he engaged himſelf by treaty to ſupply them with 10,000 men for their defence againſt the Spaniards. On the King's reſtoration, advances were

[r] D'Egrades, 25th of July, 1761. Mr. Ralph's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 176.

CHAP. LXIII.

1662.

made by Portugal for the renewal of that alliance; and in order to bind the friendſhip cloſer, an offer was made of the Portugueſe Princeſs, and a portion of 300,000 pounds, together with two fortreſſes, Tangiers in Africa and Bombay in the Eaſt Indies. Spain, who, after the peace of the Pyrenees, bent all her force to recover Portugal, now in appearance abandoned by France, took the alarm, and endeavoured to fix Charles in an oppoſite intereſt. The Catholick King offered to adopt any other Princeſs as a daughter of Spain, either the Princeſs of Parma, or, what he thought more popular, ſome Proteſtant Princeſs, the daughter of Denmark, Saxony, or Orange: And on any of theſe, he promiſed to confer a dowry equal to that offered by Portugal. But many reaſons inclined Charles rather to accept of the Portugueſe propoſals. The great diſorders in the government and finances of Spain, made the execution of her promiſes be much doubted; and the King's urgent wants demanded ſome ſupply of money. The intereſt of the Engliſh commerce likewiſe ſeemed to require, that the independancy of Portugal ſhould be ſupported, leſt the union of that crown with Spain ſhould put the whole treaſures of America into the hands of one potentate. The claims too of Spain upon Dunkirk and Jamaica, rendered it impoſſible, without farther conceſſions, to obtain the cordial friendſhip of that power: And on the other hand, the offer, made by Portugal, of two ſuch conſiderable fortreſſes, promiſed a great acceſſion to the naval force of England. Above all, the propoſal of a Proteſtant Princeſs, was no allurement to Charles, whoſe inclinations led him ſtrongly to give the preference to a Catholic alliance. According to the moſt probable accounts [s], the reſolution

[s] Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 254. This account ſeems better ſupported, than that in Ablancourt's Memoirs, that the Chancellor chiefly puſhed the Portugueſe alliance. The ſecret tranſactions of the court of England could not

tion of marrying the daughter of Portugal was taken by the King, unknown to all his miniſters; and no remonſtrances could prevail with him to alter his intentions. The Chancellor, with Ormond and Southampton, urged many oppoſite reaſons; and particularly inſiſted on a report, which was current, of the incapacity of the Princeſs to have children: But their arguments were rejected. When the matter was laid before the council, all voices concurred in approving the reſolution; and the parliament expreſſed the ſame complaiſance. And thus was concluded, ſeemingly with univerſal conſent, the inauſpicious marriage with Cathe- 21th of May
rine, a Princeſs of virtue, but who was never able, either by the graces of her perſon or humour, to make herſelf agreeable to the King. The report however of her natural incapacity to have children, ſeems to have been groundleſs; ſince ſhe was twice declared to be pregnant [t].

THE feſtivity of theſe eſpouſals was clouded by the trial and execution of criminals. Berkſtead, Cobbet, and Okey, three regicides, had eſcaped beyond ſea; and after wandering ſome time concealed in Germany, came privately to Delft, having appointed their families to meet them in that place. They were diſcovered by Downing, the King's reſident in Holland, who had formerly ſerved the Protector and Commonwealth in the ſame ſtation, and who once had even been Chaplain to Okey's regiment. He applied to the States for a warrant to arreſt them. It had been uſual for the States to grant theſe warrants; though at the ſame time, they had ever been careful ſecretly to advertiſe the perſons,

not be ſuppoſed to be much known to a French reſident at Liſbon: And whatever oppoſition the Chancellor made, he would certainly endeavour to conceal it from the Queen and all her family; and even in the parliament and council would ſupport the reſolution already taken.

[t] Lord Lanſdown's Defence of General Monk. Temple, vol. ii. p. 154.

CHAP. LXIII.

1662.

that they might be enabled to make their eſcape. This precaution was eluded by the vigilance and diſpatch of Downing. He quickly ſeized the criminals, hurried them on board a frigate which lay off the coaſt, and ſent them to England. Theſe three men behaved with more moderation and ſubmiſſion than any of the other regicides, who had ſuffered. Okey in particular, at the place of execution, prayed for the King, and expreſſed his intention, had he lived, of ſubmitting peaceably to the eſtabliſhed government. He had riſen during the wars from being a chandler in London to a high rank in the army; and in all his conduct appeared to be of a man humanity and honour. In conſideration of his good character and of his dutiful behaviour, his body was given his friends to be buried.

THE attention of the public was much engaged by the trial of two diſtinguiſhed criminals, Lambert and Vane. Theſe men, though none of the immediate murderers of the King, had been excepted from the general indemnity, and committed to priſon. The Convention-Parliament, however, was ſo favourable to them, as to petition the King, if they ſhould be found guilty, to ſuſpend their execution: But this new parliament, more zealous for monarchy, applied for their trial and condemnation. Not to revive diſputes, which were better buried in oblivion, the indictment of Vane did not comprehend any of his actions during the war between the King and parliament: It extended only to his behaviour after the late King's death, as member of the Council of State, and Secretary of the Navy; where fidelity to the truſt repoſed in him, required his oppoſition to monarchy.

Trial of Vane.

VANE wanted neither courage nor capacity to avail himſelf of this advantage. He urged, that, if a compliance with the government, at that time eſtabliſhed in England,

England, and an acknowledgment of its authority were to be regarded as criminal, the whole nation had incurred equal guilt, and none would remain, whoſe innocence could entitle them to try or condemn him for his pretended treaſons: That, according to theſe maxims, wherever an illegal authority was eſtabliſhed by force, a total and univerſal deſtruction muſt enſue; while the uſurpers proſcribed one part of the nation for diſobedience, the lawful Prince puniſhed the other for compliance: That the legiſlature of England, foreſeeing this violent ſituation, had provided for public ſecurity by the famous ſtatute of Henry the ſeventh; in which it was enacted, that no man, in caſe of any revolution, ſhould ever be queſtioned for his obedience to the King in being: That whether the eſtabliſhed government was a Monarchy or a Commonwealth, the reaſon of the thing was ſtill the ſame; nor ought the expelled Prince to think himſelf entitled to allegiance, ſo long as he could not afford protection: That it belonged not to private perſons, poſſeſſed of no power, to diſcuſs the title of their governors; and every uſurpation, even the moſt flagrant, would equally require obedience with the moſt legal eſtabliſhment: That the controverſy between the late King and his parliament was of the moſt delicate nature; and men of the greateſt probity had been divided in their choice of the party which they ſhould embrace: That the parliament, being rendered undiſſoluble but by their own conſent, was become a kind of co-ordinate power with the King; and as the caſe was thus entirely new and unknown to the conſtitution, it ought not to be tried rigidly by the letter of the antient laws: That for his part, all the violences, which had been put upon the parliament, and upon the perſon of the Sovereign, he had ever condemned; nor had he once appeared in the Houſe for ſome time before and after the execution of the King: That, finding the

CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

whole government thrown into diſorder, he was ſtill reſolved, in every revolution, to adhere to the Commons, the root, the foundation of all lawful authority: That in proſecution of this principle, he had cheerfully undergone all the violence of Cromwel's tyranny; and would now, with equal alacrity, expoſe himſelf to the rigours of perverted law and juſtice: That though it was in his power, on the King's reſtoration, to have eſcaped from his enemies, he was determined, in imitation of the moſt illuſtrious names of antiquity, to periſh in defence of liberty, and to give teſtimony with his blood for that honourable cauſe, in which he had been inliſted: And that, beſides the ties, with which God and nature had bound him to his native country, he was voluntarily engaged by the moſt ſacred covenant, whoſe obligation no earthly power ſhould ever be able to make him relinquiſh.

11th of June

ALL the defence, which Vane could make, was fruitleſs. The court, conſidering more the general opinion of his active guilt in the beginning and proſecution of the civil wars, than the articles of treaſon charged againſt him, took advantage of the letter of the law, and brought him in guilty. His courage deſerted him not upon his condemnation. Though timid by nature, the perſuaſion of a juſt cauſe ſupported him againſt the terrors of death; while his enthuſiaſm, excited by the proſpect of glory, embelliſhed the concluſion of a life, which, through the whole courſe of it, had been ſo much disfigured by the prevalence of that principle. Leſt pity for a courageous ſufferer ſhould make impreſſion on the populace, drummers were placed under the ſcaffold, whoſe noiſe, as he began to launch out in reflections on the government, drowned his voice, and admoniſhed him to temper the ardour of his zeal. He was not aſtoniſhed at this unexpected incident. In all his behaviour, there appeared a firm and animated intrepidity;

and execution.

14th of June

trepidity; and he conſidered death but as as a paſſage to that eternal felicity, which he believed to be prepared for him. CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

THIS man, ſo celebrated for his parliamentary talents, and for his capacity in buſineſs, has left ſome writings behind him: They treat all of them, of religious ſubjects, and are abſolutely unintelligible: No traces of eloquence, or even of common ſenſe appear in them. A ſtrange paradox! did we not know, that men of the greateſt genius, where they relinquiſh by principle the uſe of their reaſon, are only enabled by their vigour of mind, to work themſelves the deeper into error and abſurdity. It was remarked, that, as Vane, by being the chief inſtrument of Strafford's death, had firſt opened the way for that deſtruction, which overwhelmed the nation; ſo by his own death he cloſed the ſcene of blood. He was the laſt that ſuffered on account of the civil wars. Lambert, though condemned, was reprieved at the bar; and the judges declared, that, if Vane's behaviour had been equally dutiful and ſubmiſſive, he would have experienced like lenity in the King. Lambert ſurvived his condemnation near thirty years. He was confined to the iſle of Guerneſey; where he lived contented, forgetting all his paſt ſchemes of greatneſs, and entirely forgot by the nation.

Preſbyterian clergy ejected. 24th of Auguſt.

HOWEVER odious Vane and Lambert to the preſbyterians, that party had no leiſure to rejoice at their condemnation. The fatal St. Bartholomew approached; the day, when the clergy were obliged by the late law, either to relinquiſh their livings, or to ſign the articles required of them. A combination had been entered into by the more zealous of the preſbyterian eccleſiaſtics to refuſe the ſubſcription; in hopes, that the biſhops would not dare at once to expel ſo great a number of the moſt popular preachers. The catholic party at court, who deſired a great rent among the proteſtants,

CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

tants, encouraged them in this obſtinacy, and gave them hopes, that the King would protect them in their refuſal. The King himſelf, by his irreſolute conduct, contributed, either from deſign or accident, to increaſe this opinion. Above all, the terms of ſubſcription had been made very ſtrict and rigid, on purpoſe to diſguſt all the zealous and ſcrupulous among the preſbyterians, and deprive them of their livings. About 2000 of the clergy, in one day, relinquiſhed their cures; and to the great aſtoniſhment of the court, ſacrificed their intereſt to their religious tenets. Fortified by ſociety in their ſufferings, they were reſolved to undergo any hardſhips, rather than openly renounce thoſe principles, which, on other occaſions, they were ſo apt, from intereſt, to warp or elude. The church enjoyed the pleaſure of retaliation; and even puſhed, as uſual, the vengeance farther than the offence. During the dominion of the parliamentary party, a fifth of the livings had been left to the ejected clergy; but this indulgence, though at firſt inſiſted on by the Houſe of Peers, was now refuſed to the preſbyterians. However difficult to conciliate peace among theologicians, it was hoped by many that ſome relaxation in the terms of communion might have kept the preſbyterians united to the church, and have cured thoſe eccleſiaſtical factions, which had been ſo fatal, and were ſtill ſo dangerous. Biſhoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter and Reynolds, great leaders among the preſbyterians; the laſt only could be prevailed with to accept. Deaneries and other promotions were refuſed by many.

Dunkirk ſold to the French.

THE next meaſure of the King has not had the good fortune to be juſtified by any party; but is often conſidered as one of the greateſt miſtakes, if not blemiſhes, of his reign: 'Tis the ſale of Dunkirk to the French. The parſimonious maxims of the parliament, and the liberal, not to ſay laviſh, diſpoſition of the

King, were but ill ſuited to each other; and notwithſtanding all the ſupplies voted him, his treaſury was ſtill very empty and very much indebted. He had received the ſum of 200,000 crowns from France; but the forces ſent over to Portugal, and the fleets, maintained in order to defend that kingdom, had already coſt the King that ſum, and together with it, above double the money, which he had received for the Queen's dowry [u]. The time fixed for payment of his ſiſter's portion to the Duke of Orleans was now approaching. Tangiers, a fortreſs from which great benefit was expected, was become an additional burthen on the crown; and Rutherford, who now commanded in Dunkirk, had increaſed the charge of that garriſon to a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds a year. Theſe conſiderations had ſuch influence, not only on the King, but even on Clarendon, that that uncorrupt miniſter was the moſt forward to adviſe the accepting a ſum of money in lieu of a place which, he thought, the King, from the narrow ſtate of his revenue, was no longer able to retain. By the treaty with Portugal, it was ſtipulated, that Dunkirk ſhould never be yielded to the Spaniards: France was therefore the only purchaſer that remained. D'Eſtrades was invited over by a letter from the Chancellor himſelf, in order to conclude the bargain. Nine hundred thouſand pounds were demanded: One hundred thouſand were offered. The Engliſh by degrees lowered their demands: The French raiſed their offer: And the bargain was ſtruck at 400,000 pounds. The artillery and ſtores were valued at a fifth of the ſum [w]. The importance of this ſale was not, at that time, ſufficiently known, either abroad or at home [x]. The French monarch himſelf, though ſo fond of

[u] D'Eſtrade, 17th of Auguſt, 1662.

[w] Id. 21ſt of Auguſt. 12th of September, 1662.

[x] It appears, however, from many of D'Eſtrade's letters, particularly that of

CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

of acquiſitions, and ſo good a judge of his own intereſts, thought that he had made a very hard bargain [y]; and this ſum, in appearance ſo ſmall, was the utmoſt, which he would allow his Ambaſſador to offer.

A NEW incident diſcovered ſuch a glimpſe of the King's character and principles of policy as at firſt the nation was ſomewhat at a loſs how to interpret, but ſuch as ſubſequent events, by degrees, rendered ſufficiently plain and manifeſt. He iſſued a declaration on pretence of mitigating the rigours, contained in the act of uniformity. After expreſſing his firm reſolution to obſerve the general indemnity, and to truſt entirely to the affections of his ſubjects, not to any military power, for the ſupport of his throne; he mentioned the promiſes of liberty of conſcience, contained in his declaration of Breda. And he ſubjoined, that, "as in the "firſt place he had been zealous to ſettle the uniformity of the church of England, in diſcipline, cere"mony and government, and ſhall ever conſtantly "maintain it: So as for what concerns the penalties "upon thoſe who, living peaceably, do not conform "themſelves thereunto, through ſcruple and tenderneſs "of miſguided conſcience, but modeſtly and without "ſcandal perform their devotions in their own way, he "ſhould make it his ſpecial care, ſo far as in him lay,

Declaration of indulgence. 26th of December.

of the 21ſt of Auguſt, 1661, that the King might have transferred Dunkirk to the parliament, who would not have refuſed to bear the charges of it, but were unwilling to give money to the King for that purpoſe. The King on the other hand was jealous, leſt the parliament ſhould acquire any ſuch ſeparate dominion or authority: A proof that the government was not as yet ſettled into that compoſure, and mutual confidence, which is abſolutely requiſite for conducting it.

[y] Id. 3d of October, 1662. The chief importance indeed of Dunkirk to the Engliſh was that it was able extremely to diſtreſs their trade, when in the hands of the French: But it was Lewis the XIVth who firſt made it a good ſea-port. England can have no occaſion to tranſport armies, to the continent, but in ſupport of ſome ally whoſe towns ſerve to the ſame purpoſe as Dunkirk would, if in the hands of the Engliſh.

CHAP. LXIII. 1660.

" without invading the freedom of parliament, to in-
" cline their wiſdom next approaching ſeſſions to con-
" cur with him in making ſome ſuch act for that pur-
" poſe, as may enable him to exerciſe, with a more
" univerſal ſatisfaction, that power of diſpenſing, which
" he conceived to be inherent in him [z]." Here a moſt important prerogative was exerciſed by the King; but under ſuch artificial reſerves and limitations as might prevent the full diſcuſſion of the claim, and obviate a breach between him and his parliament. The foundation of this meaſure lay much deeper, and was of the utmoſt conſequence.

THE King, during his exile, had imbibed ſtrong prejudices in favour of the catholic religion; and according to the moſt probable accounts, had already been reconciled in form to the church of Rome. The great zeal, expreſſed by the parliamentary party againſt all papiſts, had always, from a ſpirit of oppoſition, inclined the court and all the royaliſts to adopt more favourable ſentiments towards that ſect, who, through the whole courſe of the civil wars, had ſtrenuouſly ſupported the rights of the Sovereign. The rigour too, which the King, during his abode in Scotland, had experienced from the preſbyterians, diſpoſed him to run into the other extreme, and to bear a kindneſs to the party, moſt oppoſite in its genius to the ſeverity of thoſe religioniſts. The ſollicitations and importunities of the Queen-mother, the contagion of the company which he frequented, the view of a more ſplendid and courtly mode of worſhip, the hopes of indulgence in pleaſure; all theſe cauſes operated powerfully on a young Prince, whoſe careleſs and diſſolute temper made him incapable of adhering cloſely to the principles of his early education. But if the thoughtleſs humour of Charles rendered him an eaſy convert to popery, the ſame diſpoſi-

[z] Kennet's Regiſter, p. 850.

tion

CHAP. LXIII.

1662. tion ever prevented the theological tenets of that ſect from taking any faſt hold of him. During his vigorous ſtate of health, while his blood was warm and his ſpirits high, a contempt and diſregard of all religion held poſſeſſion of his mind; and he might more properly be denominated a deiſt than a catholic. But in thoſe revolutions of temper, when the love of raillery gave place to reflection, and his penetrating, but negligent underſtanding was clouded with fears and apprehenſions, he had ſtarts of more ſincere conviction, and a ſect, which always poſſeſſed his inclinations, was then maſter of his judgment and opinion.

BUT though the King thus floated, during his whole reign, between irreligion, which he more openly profeſſed, and popery, to which he retained a ſecret propenſity, his brother, the Duke of York, had zealouſly adopted all the principles of that theological party. His eager temper and narrow underſtanding made him a thorough convert, without any reſerve from intereſt, or doubts from reaſoning and enquiry. By his application to buſineſs, he had acquired a great aſcendant over the King, who, though poſſeſſed of much more diſcernment, was glad to throw the burthen of affairs on the Duke, of whom he entertained little jealouſy. On pretence of eaſing the proteſtant diſſenters, they agreed upon a plan for introducing a general toleration, and giving the catholics the free exerciſe of their religion; at leaſt, the exerciſe of it in private houſes. The two brothers ſaw with pleaſure ſo numerous and popular a body of the clergy refuſe conformity; and it was hoped, that, under ſhelter of their name, the ſmall and hated ſect of the catholics might meet with favour and protection.

1663. 18th of February. BUT while the King pleaded his early promiſes of toleration, and inſiſted on many other plauſible topics, the

the parliament, who ſat a little after the declaration was iſſued, could by no means be ſatisfied with this meaſure. The declared intention of eaſing the diſſenters, and the ſecret purpoſe of favouring the catholics, were equally diſagreeable to them; and in theſe prepoſſions they were encouraged by the King's miniſters themſelves, particularly the Chancellor. The Houſe of Commons repreſented to the King, that his declaration of Breda contained no promiſe to the preſbyterians and other diſſenters, but only an expreſſion of his intentions, upon the ſuppoſition of the parliament's concurrence; that even if the nonconformiſts had been entitled to plead a promiſe, they had entruſted this claim as well as all their other rights and privileges, to the Houſe of Commons, who were their repreſentatives, and who now freed the King from that obligation; that it was not to be ſuppoſed, that his Majeſty and the Houſes were ſo bound by that declaration as to be incapacitated from making any laws, which might be contrary to it; that even at the King's reſtoration, there were laws of uniformity in force, which could not be diſpenſed with but by act of parliament; and that the indulgence propoſed would prove moſt pernicious both to church and ſtate, would open the door to ſchiſm, encourage faction, diſturb the public peace, and diſcredit the wiſdom of the legiſlature. The King did not think proper, after this remonſtrance, to inſiſt any farther at preſent on the project of indulgence.

CHAP. LXIII. 1662.

In order to deprive the catholics of all hopes, the two Houſes concurred in a remonſtrance againſt them. The King gave a very gracious anſwer; though he ſcrupled not to profeſs his gratitude towards many of that perſuaſion, on account of their faithful ſervices in his father's cauſe and in his own. A proclamation, for form's ſake, was ſoon after iſſued againſt Jeſuits and Romiſh prieſts: But care was taken, by the very terms of

CHAP. LXIII. 1663.

of it, to render it ineffectual. The parliament had allowed, that all the foreign prieſts, belonging to the two Queens, ſhould be excepted, and that a permiſſion for them to remain in England ſhould ſtill be granted. In the proclamation, the word *foreign*, was purpoſely omitted; and the Queens were thereby authorized to give protection to as many Engliſh prieſts as they ſhould think proper.

That the King might reap ſome advantage from his compliances, however fallacious, he engaged the Commons anew into an examination of his revenue, which, chiefly by the negligence in levying it, had proved, he ſaid, much inferior to the public charges. Notwithſtanding the price of Dunkirk, his debts, he complained, amounted to a conſiderable ſum; and to ſatisfy the Commons, that the money formerly granted him, had not been prodigally expended, he offered to lay before them the whole account of his diſburſements. It is however agreed on all hands, that the King, though during his baniſhment, he had managed his ſmall and precarious income with great order and œconomy, had now much abated of theſe virtues, and was unable to make his royal revenues ſuffice for his expences. The Commons, without entering into too nice a diſquiſition, voted him four ſubſidies; and this was the laſt time, that taxes were levied in that manner.

Several laws were made this ſeſſion with regard to trade. The militia alſo came under conſideration, and ſome rules were eſtabliſhed for ordering and arming it. It was enacted, that the King ſhould have no power of keeping the militia under arms above fourteen days in the year. The ſituation of this iſland, together with its great naval power, has always occaſioned other means of ſecurity, however requiſite, to be much neglected amongſt us: And the parliament ſhowed here a very ſuperfluous jealouſy of the King's ſtrictneſs in diſciplining

ciplining the militia. The principles of liberty rather require a contrary jealouſy. CHAP. LXIII.

1663.

The Earl of Briſtol's friendſhip with Clarendon, which had ſubſiſted, with great intimacy, during their exile and the diſtreſſes of the royal party, had been conſiderably impaired ſince the reſtoration, by the Chancellor's refuſal of his aſſent to ſome grants, which Briſtol had applied for to a court lady: And a little after, the latter nobleman, agreeable to the impetuoſity and indiſcretion of his temper, broke out againſt the miniſter in the moſt outrageous manner. He even entered a charge of treaſon againſt him before the Houſe of Peers; but had concerted his plan ſo imprudently, that the judges, when conſulted, declared, that, neither for its matter nor its form, could it legally be received. The articles indeed reſemble more the incoherent altercations of a paſſionate enemy, than a ſerious charge, fit to be diſcuſſed by a court of judicature; and Briſtol himſelf was ſo aſhamed of his conduct and defeat, that he abſconded during ſome time. Notwithſtanding his fine talents, his eloquence, his ſpirit, and his courage, he could never regain the character, which he loſt by this haſty and precipitant meaſure.

But though Clarendon was able to elude this raſh aſſault, he was ſenſibly declining in his credit at court; and in proportion as the King found himſelf eſtabliſhed on the throne, he began to alienate himſelf from a miniſter whoſe character was ſo little ſuited to his own. The King's favour for the catholics was always oppoſed by Clarendon, public liberty was ſecured againſt all attempts of the over-zealous royaliſts, prodigal grants were checked or refuſed, and the dignity of his own character was ſo much conſulted by the Chancellor, that he made it an inviolable rule, as did alſo his friend, Southampton, never to enter into any connexion with the royal miſtreſſes. The King's favourite was Mrs. Palmer,

Decline of Clarendon's credit.

CHAP. LXIII.

1663.

Palmer, afterwards created Dutcheſs of Cleveland; a woman prodigal, rapacious, diſſolute, violent, revengeful. She failed not in her turn to undermine Clarendon's credit with his maſter; and her ſucceſs was at this time made apparent to the whole world. Secretary Nicholas, the Chancellor's great friend, was removed from his place; and Sir Harry Bennet, his avowed enemy, was advanced to that office. Bennet was ſoon after created Lord Arlington.

THOUGH the King's conduct had hitherto, ſince his reſtoration, been, in the main, laudable, men of penetration began to obſerve, that thoſe virtues, by which he had, at firſt, ſo much dazzled and enchanted the nation, had great ſhow, but not equal ſolidity. His good underſtanding loſt much of its influence by his want of application; his bounty was more the reſult of a facility of diſpoſition than of any generoſity of character; his ſocial humour led him frequently to neglect his dignity; his love of pleaſure was not attended with proper ſentiment and decency; and while he ſeemed to bear a good will to every one that approached him, he had a heart not very capable of ſincere friendſhip, and he had ſecretly entertained a very bad opinion and diſtruſt of mankind. But above all, what ſullied his character in the eyes of good judges was his negligent ingratitude towards the unfortunate cavaliers, whoſe zeal and ſufferings for the royal cauſe had known no bounds. This conduct however in the King may, from the circumſtances of his ſituation and temper, admit of ſome excuſe; at leaſt, of ſome alleviation. As he had been reſtored more by the efforts of his reconciled enemies than of his antient friends, the former pretended a title to ſhare his favour; and being from practice, acquainted with public buſineſs, they were better qualified to execute any truſt committed to them. The King's revenues were far from being large,

large, or even equal to his neceſſary expences; and his miſtreſſes, and the companions of his mirth and pleaſures, gained by ſollicitation every requeſt from his eaſy temper. The very poverty, to which the more zealous royaliſts had reduced themſelves, by rendering them inſignificant, made them unfit to ſupport the King's meaſures, and cauſed him to regard them as a uſeleſs incumbrance. And as many falſe and ridiculous claims of merit were offered, his natural indolence, averſe to a ſtrict diſcuſſion or enquiry, led him to treat them all with equal indifference. The parliament took ſome notice of the poor cavaliers. Sixty thouſand pounds were at one time diſtributed among them: Mrs. Lane alſo and the Penderells had handſome preſents and penſions from the King. But the greateſt part of the royaliſts ſtill remained in poverty and diſtreſs; aggravated by the cruel diſappointment of their ſanguine hopes, and by ſeeing favour and preferment beſtowed upon their moſt inveterate foes. With regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they univerſally ſaid, that it was an act of indemnity to the King's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

CHAP. LXIII. 1663.

CHAP. LXIV.

A new ſeſſion.——Rupture with Holland.——A new ſeſſion.——Victory of the Engliſh.——Rupture with France.——Rupture with Denmark.——New ſeſſion.——Sea-fight of four days.——Victory of the Engliſh.——Fire of London.——Advances towards peace.——Diſgrace at Chatham.——Peace of Breda.——Clarendon's fall,——and baniſhment.——State of France.——Character of Lewis XIV.*——French invaſion of the Low Countries.——Negotiations.——Triple league.——Treaty of Aix-la-chapelle.——Affairs of Scotland,——and of Ireland.*

CHAP. LXIV.

1664. 16th of March. A new ſeſſion.

THE next ſeſſions of parliament diſcovered a continuance of the ſame principles, which had actuated all the foregoing. Monarchy and the church were ſtill the objects of tender affection. During no period of the preſent reign, did this ſpirit paſs more evidently the bounds of reaſon and moderation.

THE King in his ſpeech to the parliament had ventured openly to demand a repeal of the triennial act; and he even went ſo far as to declare, that, notwithſtanding the law, he never would allow any parliament to be aſſembled by the methods preſcribed in that famous ſtatute. The parliament, without taking offence at this declaration, repealed the law; and in lieu of all the ſecurities, formerly provided, ſatisfied themſelves with a general clauſe, "that parliaments ſhould not be interrupted above three years at the moſt." As the Engliſh parliament had now raiſed itſelf to be a regular

check and controul upon royal power; 'tis evident, that they ought ſtill to have preſerved a regular ſecurity for their meeting, and not have truſted entirely to the good-will of the King, who, if ambitious or enterpriſing, had ſo little reaſon to be pleaſed with theſe aſſemblies. Before the end of Charles's reign, the nation had occaſion to feel very ſenſibly the bad effects of this repeal. 1664.

By the act of uniformity, every clergyman, who ſhould officiate without being properly qualified, was puniſhable by fines and impriſonment: But this ſecurity was not thought ſufficient for the church. It was now enacted, that, wherever five perſons above thoſe of the ſame houſehold, ſhould aſſemble in a religious congregation, every one of them was liable, for the firſt offence, to be impriſoned three months, or pay five pounds; for the ſecond, to be impriſoned ſix months, or pay ten pounds; and for the third, to be tranſported ſeven years, or pay one hundred pounds. The parliament had only in their eye the malignity of the ſectaries: They ſhould have carried their attention farther, to the cauſe of that malignity, the former reſtraint and hardſhips, which they had undergone.

The Commons likewiſe paſſed a vote, that the wrongs, diſhonours, and indignities, offered to the Engliſh by the ſubjects of the United Provinces, were the greateſt obſtructions to all foreign trade: And they promiſed to aſſiſt the King with their lives and fortunes in aſſerting the rights of his crown againſt all oppoſition whatſoever. This was the firſt open ſtep towards a Dutch war. We muſt explain the cauſes and motives of this meaſure.

Rupture with Holland.

That cloſe union and confederacy, which, during a courſe of near ſeventy years, has ſubſiſted, without interruption or jealouſy, between England and Holland, is not ſo much founded on the natural unalterable

CHAP. LXIV. 1664.

intereſts of theſe ſtates, as on their terror of the growing power of France, who, without their combination it is apprehended would ſoon extend her dominion over Europe. In the firſt years of Charles's reign, when the ambitious genius of the French monarch had not, as yet, diſplayed itſelf; and when the mighty force of his people was, in a great meaſure, unknown even to themſelves, the rivalſhip of commerce, not checked by any other jealouſy or apprehenſion, had naturally in England begot a violent enmity againſt the neighbouring republic.

TRADE was beginning, among the Engliſh, to be a matter of very general concern; but notwithſtanding all their efforts and advantages, their commerce ſeemed hitherto to ſtand upon a footing, which was ſomewhat precarious. The Dutch, who, by induſtry and frugality, were enabled to underſell them in every market, retained poſſeſſion of the moſt lucrative branches of commerce; and the Engliſh merchants had the mortification to find, that all attempts to extend their trade were ſtill turned, by the vigilance of their rivals, to their loſs and diſhonour. Their indignation increaſed, when they conſidered the ſuperior naval power of England, the bravery of her officers and ſeamen, her favourable ſituation by which ſhe was enabled to intercept the whole Dutch commerce. By the proſpect of theſe advantages, they were ſtrongly prompted from motives leſs juſt than political, to make war upon the States; and at once to raviſh from them by force, what they could not obtain, or could obtain but ſlowly, by ſuperior ſkill and induſtry.

THE careleſs, unambitious temper of Charles rendered him little capable of forming ſo vaſt a project as that of engroſing the commerce and naval power of Europe; yet could he not remain altogether inſenſible

to

to ſuch obvious and ſuch tempting proſpects. His genius, happily turned towards mechanics, inclined him to ſtudy naval affairs, which, next to pleaſure, he both loved the moſt of all things, and underſtood the beſt. Though the Dutch, during his exile, had expreſſed towards him more civility and friendſhip, than he had received from any other foreign power; the Louveſtein or ariſtocratic faction, which, at this time, ruled the Commonwealth, had fallen into cloſe union with France; and could that party be ſubdued, he might hope, that his nephew, the young Prince of Orange, would be re-inſtated in the authority, poſſeſſed by his anceſtors, and would bring the States to a dependance under England. His narrow revenues made it ſtill requiſite for him to ſtudy the humour of his people, which now ran violently towards war; and it has been ſuſpected, though the ſuſpicion was not juſtified by the event, that the hopes of diverting ſome of the ſupplies to his private uſe were not overlooked by this neceſſitous monarch. CHAP. LXIV. 1664.

The Duke of York, more active and enterpriſing, puſhed more eagerly the war with Holland. He deſired an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf: He loved to cultivate commerce: He was at the head of a new African company, whoſe trade was extremely checked by the ſettlements of the Dutch: And perhaps, the bigotted prejudices, by which that Prince was always ſo much governed, began, even ſo early, to inſtil into him an antipathy againſt a proteſtant Commonwealth, the bulwark of the reformation. Clarendon and Southampton, obſerving that the nation was not fortified by any foreign alliance, were averſe to the war; but their credit was now on the decline.

By theſe concurring motives, the court and parliament were both of them inclined to a Dutch war. The parliament was prorogued without voting any ſupplies: 17th of May

CHAP. LXIV.

1664. But as they had been induced, without any open application from the crown, to paſs that vote above-mentioned againſt the Dutch encroachments, it was reaſonably conſidered as ſanction ſufficient for the vigorous meaſures, which were reſolved on.

DOWNING, the Engliſh miniſter at the Hague, a man of an inſolent, impetuous temper, preſented a memorial to the States, containing a liſt of thoſe depredations, which the Engliſh complained of. It is remarkable, that all the pretended depredations preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliances had been renewed with the Dutch; and theſe complaints where then thought, either ſo unjuſt or ſo frivolous, that they had not been mentioned in that treaty. Two ſhips alone, the Bonaventure and the Good-hope, had been claimed by the Engliſh; and it was agreed, that they ſhould proſecute their claim by the ordinary courſe of juſtice. The States had conſigned a ſum of money, in caſe the cauſe ſhould be decided againſt them; but the matter was ſtill in dependance. Cary, who was entruſted by the proprietors with the management of the lawſuit for the Bonaventure, had reſolved to accept of thirty thouſand pounds, which were offered him; but was hindered by Downing, who told him, that the claim was a matter of ſtate between the two nations, not a concern of private perſons [a]. Theſe circumſtances give us no favourable idea of the juſtice of the Engliſh pretenſions.

CHARLES confined not himſelf to memorials and remonſtrances. Sir Robert Holmes was ſecretly diſpatched with a ſquadron of twenty-two ſhips to the coaſt of Africa. He not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corſe, to which the Engliſh had ſome pretenſions: He likewiſe ſeized the Dutch ſettlements of Cape Verde and the Iſle of Goree, together with ſeveral ſhips

[a] Temple, vol. ii. p. 42.

trading

trading on that coaſt. And having ſailed to America, he poſſeſſed himſelf of Nova Belgia, ſince called New York; a territory, which James the firſt had given by patent to the Earl of Sterling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders. When the States complained of theſe hoſtile meaſures, the King, unwilling to avow what he could not well juſtify, pretended to be totally ignorant of Holmes's enterprize. He likewiſe confined Holmes to the Tower; but ſome time after reſtored him to his liberty. CHAP. LXIV. 1664.

THE Dutch, finding that their applications for redreſs were likely to be eluded, and that a ground of quarrel was induſtriouſly ſought for by the Engliſh, began to arm with diligence. They even exerted, with ſome precipitation, an act of vigor, which haſtened on the rupture. Sir John Lawſon and de Ruyter had been ſent with combined ſquadrons into the Mediterranean, in order to chaſtiſe the pyratical States on the coaſt of Barbary; and the time of their ſeparation and return was now approaching. The States ſecretly diſpatched orders to de Ruyter, that he ſhould take in proviſions at Cadiz; and ſailing towards the coaſt of Guinea, ſhould retaliate on the Engliſh, and put the Dutch in poſſeſſion of thoſe ſettlements whence Holmes had expelled them. De Ruyter, having a conſiderable force on board, met with no oppoſition in Guinea. All the new acquiſitions of the Engliſh, except Cape Corſe, were recovered from them. They were even diſpoſſeſſed of ſome old ſettlements. Such of their ſhips as fell into his hands were ſeized by de Ruyter. That Admiral ſailed next to America. He attacked Barbadoes, but was repulſed. He afterwards committed hoſtilities on Long Iſland.

MEANWHILE, the Engliſh preparations for war were advancing with vigor and induſtry. The King had received no ſupplies from parliament; but by his own funds

CHAP. LXIV.

1664.

funds and credit he was enabled to equip a fleet: the city of London lent him 100,000 pounds: the ſpirit of the nation ſeconded his armaments: he himſelf went from port to port, inſpecting with great diligence, and encouraging the work: and in a little time the Engliſh navy was put in a very formidable condition. Eight hundred thouſand pounds are ſaid to have been expended on this armament. When Lawſon arrived, and communicated his ſuſpicion of de Ruyter's enterpriſe, orders were iſſued for ſeizing all Dutch ſhips; and 135 fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Theſe were not confiſcated, nor declared prizes, till afterwards, when war was proclaimed.

24th of November. A new ſeſſion.

THE parliament, when met, granted a ſupply, the largeſt by far that had ever been given to a King of England, but no more than ſufficient for the preſent undertaking. Near two millions and a half were voted, to be levied by quarterly payments in three years. The avidity of the merchants, together with the great proſpect of ſucceſs, had animated the whole nation againſt the Dutch.

A GREAT alteration was made this ſeſſion in the method of taxing the clergy. In almoſt all the other monarchies of Europe, the aſſemblies, whoſe conſent was formerly requiſite to the enacting of laws, were compoſed of three eſtates, the clergy, the nobility, and the commonalty, which formed ſo many members of the political body, of which the King was conſidered as the head. In England too, the parliament was always repreſented as conſiſting of three eſtates; but their ſeparation was never ſo diſtinct as in other kingdoms. A convocation, however, had uſually ſat at the ſame time with the parliament: though they poſſeſſed not a negative voice in the paſſing of laws, and aſſumed no farther power than that of impoſing taxes on the clergy. By

reaſon

reaſon of eccleſiaſtical preferments, which he could beſtow, the King's influence over the church was more conſiderable than over the laity; ſo that the ſubſidies granted by the convocation, were commonly greater than thoſe voted by the parliament. The church, therefore, was not diſpleaſed to depart tacitly from the right of taxing herſelf, and allow the Commons to lay impoſitions on eccleſiaſtical revenues, as on the reſt of the kingdom. In recompence, two ſubſidies, which the convocation had formerly granted, were remitted, and the parochial clergy were allowed to vote at elections. Thus the church of England made a barter of power for profit. Their convocations, having become uſeleſs to the crown, have been very much diſuſed of late years.

CHAP. LXIV. 1664.

THE Dutch ſaw, with the utmoſt regret, a war approaching, whence they might dread the moſt fatal conſequences, but which afforded no proſpect of advantage. They tried every art of negotiation, before they would come to extremity. Their meaſures were at that time directed by John de Wit, a miniſter equally eminent for greatneſs of mind, for capacity, and for integrity. Tho' moderate in his private deportment, he knew how to adopt in his public councils that magnanimity, which ſuits the miniſter of a great ſtate. It was ever his maxim, that no independant government ſhould yield to another any evident point of reaſon or equity; and that all ſuch conceſſions, ſo far from preventing war, ſerved to no other purpoſe than to provoke freſh claims and inſolencies. By his management a ſpirit of union was preſerved in all the provinces; great ſums were levied; and a navy was equipped, compoſed of larger ſhips than the Dutch had ever built before, and able to cope with the fleet of England.

As

CHAP. LXIV.

1665.

22d of February.

3d of June. Victory of the Engliſh.

As ſoon as certain intelligence arrived of de Ruyter's enterprizes, Charles declared war againſt the States. His fleet, conſiſting of 114 ſail, beſides fire-ſhips and ketches, was commanded by the Duke of York, and under him by Prince Rupert and the Earl of Sandwich. It had about 22,000 men on board. Obdam, who was admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force, declined not the combat. In the heat of action, when engaged in cloſe fight with the Duke of York, Obdam's ſhip blew up. This accident much diſcouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coaſt. Tromp alone, ſon of the famous admiral, killed during the Protectorſhip, bravely ſuſtained with his ſquadron the efforts of the Engliſh, and protected the rear of his countrymen. The vanquiſhed had nineteen ſhips ſunk and taken. The victors loſt only one. Sir John Lawſon died ſoon after of his wounds.

IT is affirmed, and with great appearance of reaſon, that this victory might have been rendered much more compleat, had not orders been iſſued to ſlacken ſail by Brounker, one of the Duke's bedchamber, who pretended authority from his maſter. The Duke diſclaimed the orders; but Brounker never was ſufficiently puniſhed for his temerity[b]. It is allowed, however, that the Duke behaved with great bravery during the action. He was long in the thickeſt of the fire. The Earl of Falmouth, Lord Muſkerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one ſhot at his ſide, and covered him all over with their brains and gore. And it is not likely, that in a purſuit, where even perſons of inferior ſtation, and of the moſt cowardly diſpoſition, acquire courage, a commander ſhould feel his ſpirits to flag, and ſhould turn

[b] Burnet ſufficiently accounts for Brounker's impunity, by informing us, that he was a favourite of the Dutcheſs of Cleveland, the King's favourite miſtreſs.

from

from the back of an enemy, whoſe face he had not been afraid to encounter.

CHAP. LXIV.

1665.

THIS diſaſter threw the Dutch into conſternation, and determined de Wit, who was the ſoul of all their councils, to exert his military capacity, in order to ſupport the declining courage of his countrymen. He went on board the fleet, which he took under his command; and he ſoon remedied all thoſe diſorders which had been occaſioned by the late misfortune. The genius of this man was of the moſt extenſive nature. He quickly became as much maſter of naval affairs, as if he had from his infancy been educated in them; and he even improved ſome parts of pilotage and ſailing, beyond what men expert in thoſe arts had ever been able to attain.

THE misfortunes of the Dutch determined their allies to act for their aſſiſtance and ſupport. The King of France was engaged in a defenſive alliance with the States; but as his naval force was yet in its infancy, he was extremely averſe, at that time, from entering into a war with ſo formidable a power as England. He tried long to mediate a peace between the two parties, and for that purpoſe ſent an embaſſy to London, which returned without effecting any thing. Lord Hollis, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Paris, endeavoured to draw over Lewis to the ſide of England; and, in his maſter's name, made him the moſt tempting offers. Charles was content to abandon all the Spaniſh Low Countries to the French, without pretending to a foot of ground for himſelf; provided Lewis would allow him to purſue his advantages againſt the Dutch[c]. But the French Monarch, though the conqueſt of that valuable territory was the chief object of his ambition, rejected the offer as contrary to his intereſt: he thought, that if the Engliſh had once eſtabliſhed an uncontroulable do-

Rupture with France.

[c] D'Eſtrades, 19th of December, 1664.

minion

CHAP. LXIV.

1665.

minion over the sea and over commerce, they would soon be able to render his acquisitions a very dear purchase to him. When de Lionne, the French secretary, assured Van Buninghen, Ambassador of the States, that this offer had been pressed on his master during six months, "I can readily believe it," replied the Dutchman; "I am sensible that it is the interest of Eng-"land[d]."

SUCH were the established maxims at that time with regard to the interests of Princes. It must however be allowed, that the politics of Charles in making this offer, were not a little hazardous. The extreme weakness of Spain would have rendered the French conquests easy and infallible: but the vigour of the Dutch, it might be foreseen, would make the success of the English much more precarious. And even were the naval force of Holland totally annihilated, the acquisition of the Dutch commerce to England could not be relied on as a certain consequence; nor is trade a constant attendant of power, but depends on many other, and some of them very delicate, circumstances.

THO' the King of France was resolved to support the Hollanders in that unequal contest, in which they were engaged; he yet protracted his declaration, and employed the time in naval preparations, both in the ocean and the Mediterranean. The King of Denmark mean while was resolved not to remain an idle spectator of the contest between the maritime powers. The part which he acted was the most extraordinary: he made a secret agreement with Charles to seize all the Dutch ships in his harbours, and to share the spoils with the English, provided they would assist him in executing this measure. In order to increase his prey, he perfidiously invited the Dutch ships to take shelter in his

[d] Id. 14th of August, 1665.

ports;

ports; and accordingly the East India fleet, very richly laden, had put into Bergen. Sandwich, who now commanded the English navy (the Duke having gone ashore) dispatched Sir Thomas Tiddiman with a squadron to attack them; but whether from the King of Denmark's delay in sending orders to the Governor, or, what is more probable, from his avidity in endeavouring to engross the whole booty, the English admiral, tho' he behaved with great bravery, failed of his purpose. The Danish governor fired upon him; and the Dutch, having had leisure to fortify themselves, made a very gallant resistance.

CHAP. LXIV. 1665.

3d of August.

The King of Denmark, seemingly ashamed of his conduct, concluded with Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy, an offensive alliance against the States; and at the very same time, his resident at the Hague, by his orders, concluded an offensive alliance against England. To this last alliance he adhered, probably from jealousy of the encreasing naval power of England; and he seized and confiscated all the English ships in his harbours. This was a very sensible check to the advantages which Charles had obtained over the Dutch. Not only a great blow was given to the English commerce: the King of Denmark's naval force was also considerable, and threatened every moment a conjunction with the Hollanders. That Prince stipulated to assist his allies with a fleet of thirty sail; and he received in return a yearly subsidy of 1,500,000 crowns, of which 300,000 were paid by France.

Rupture with Denmark.

The King endeavoured to counterbalance these confederacies by acquiring new friends and allies. He had dispatched Sir Richard Fanshaw into Spain, who met with a very cold reception. That monarchy was sunk into a great degree of weakness, and was menaced with an invasion from France; yet could not any motive

CHAP. LXIV. 1665.

prevail with Philip to enter into a cordial friendſhip with England. Charles's alliance with Portugal, the detention of Jamaica and Tangiers, the ſale of Dunkirk, to the French; all theſe offences ſunk ſo deep into the mind of the Spaniſh monarch, that no motive of intereſt was ſufficient to outweigh them.

The biſhop of Munſter was the only ally that Charles could acquire. That prelate, a man of reſtleſs enterprize and ambition, had entertained a violent animoſity againſt the States; and he was eaſily engaged, by the promiſe of ſubſidies from England, to make an incurſion on that republic. With a tumultuary army of near 20,000 men, he invaded her territories, and met with weak reſiſtance. The land forces of the States were as feeble and ill-governed, as their fleets were gallant and formidable. But after committing great ravages in ſeveral of the provinces, a ſtop was put to the progreſs of this warlike prelate. He had not military ſkill ſufficient to improve the advantages which fortune had offered him. The King of France ſent a body of 6000 men to oppoſe him: ſubſidies were not regularly remitted to him from England; and many of his troops deſerted for want of pay: the Elector of Brandenburgh threatened him with an invaſion in his own ſtate: and on the whole, he was glad to conclude a peace under the mediation of France. On the firſt ſurmiſe of his intentions, Sir William Temple was ſent from London with money to fix him in his former alliance; but found, that he arrived too late.

THE Dutch, encouraged by all theſe favourable circumſtances, continued reſolute to exert themſelves to the utmoſt in their own defence. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was arrived from his expedition to Guinea: Their India fleet was come home in ſafety: Their harbours were crowded with merchant ſhips: Faction

at home was appeaſed: The young Prince of Orange had put himſelf under the tuition of the States of Holland, and of de Wit, their penſionary, who executed his truſt with great honour and fidelity: And the animoſity, which the Hollanders entertained againſt the attack of the Engliſh, ſo unprovoked, as they thought it, made them thirſt for revenge, and hope for better ſucceſs in their next enterprize. Such vigour was exerted in the common cauſe, that, in order the better to man the fleet, all merchant ſhips were prohibited to ſail, and even the fiſheries were totally ſuſpended[e]. CHAP. LXIV. 1665.

THE Engliſh likewiſe continued in the ſame diſpoſition, though another more grievous calamity had joined itſelf to that of war. The plague had broke out in London; and that with ſuch violence as to cut off, in leſs than a year, near 100,000 inhabitants. The King was obliged to ſummon the parliament at Oxford. 10th of October.

THE good agreement ſtill continued between the King and the parliament. They, on their part, unanimouſly voted him the ſupply demanded, twelve hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, to be levied in two years by monthly aſſeſſments. And he, to gratify them, paſſed the famous five-mile-act, which has given occaſion to ſuch grievous and ſuch juſt complaints. The church, under pretence of guarding monarchy againſt its inveterate enemies, perſevered in the project of wracking its own enmity againſt the nonconformiſts. It was enacted, that no diſſenting teacher, who took not the non-reſiſtance oath above-mentioned, ſhould, except upon the road, come within five miles of any corporation, or of any place, where he had preached after the act of oblivion. The penalty was a fine of fifty pounds, and ſix months impriſonment. By ejecting the nonconformiſt miniſters from their churches, and prohibiting New ſeſſion. Five-mile-act.

[e] Tromp's life. D'Eſtrades, 5th of February, 1665.

CHAP. LXIV.

all ſeparate congregations, they had been rendered incapable of gaining any livelihood by their ſpiritual profeſſion. And now, under colour of removing them from places, where their influence might be dangerous, an expedient was fallen upon to deprive them of all means of ſubſiſtence. Had not the ſpirit of the nation undergone a change, theſe violences were preludes to the moſt furious perſecution.

1665.

HOWEVER prevalent the hierarchy, this law did not paſs without oppoſition. Beſides ſeveral peers, attached to the old parliamentary party, Southampton himſelf, though Clarendon's great friend, expreſſed his diſapprobation of theſe meaſures. But the church party, not diſcouraged with this oppoſition, introduced into the Houſe of Commons a bill for impoſing the oath of non-reſiſtance on the whole nation. It was rejected only by three voices. The parliament, after a very ſhort ſeſſion, was prorogued.

31ſt of October.

1666.

AFTER France had declared war, England was evidently over-matched in force. Yet ſhe poſſeſſed this advantage by her ſituation, that ſhe lay between the fleets of her enemies, and might be able, by ſpeedy and well-concerted operations, to prevent their conjunction. But ſuch was the unhappy conduct of her commanders, or ſuch the want of intelligence in her miniſters, that this circumſtance turned rather to her prejudice. Lewis had given orders to the Duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to ſail from Toulon; and the French ſquadron, under his command, conſiſting of above forty ſail[f], was now commonly ſuppoſed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, to the number of ſeventy-ſix ſail, was at ſea, under the command of de Ruyter and Tromp, in order to join him. The Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert commanded the Engliſh

[f] D'Eſtrades, 21ſt of May, 1666.

fleet,

CHAP. LXIV.

1666.

fleet, which exceeded not ſeventy-four ſail. Albemarle, who, from his ſucceſſes under the Protectorſhip, had too much learned to deſpiſe the enemy, propoſed to detach Prince Rupert with twenty ſhips, in order to oppoſe the Duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayſcue, well acquainted with the bravery and conduct of de Ruyter, proteſted againſt the temerity of this reſolution: But Albemarle's authority prevailed. The remainder of the Engliſh ſet ſail to give battle to the Dutch; who, ſeeing the enemy advance quickly upon them, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle, which enſued, is one of the moſt memorable, which we read of in ſtory; whether we conſider its duration, or the deſperate courage, with which it was fought. Albemarle made here ſome atonement by his valour for the raſhneſs of the attempt. No youth, animated by glory and ambitious hopes, could exert himſelf more than did this man, who was now in the decline of life, and who had reached the ſummit of honours. We ſhall not enter minutely into particulars. It will be ſufficient to mention the chief events of each day's engagement.

Sea fight of four days.

In the firſt day, Sir William Berkeley, Vice-Admiral, leading the van, fell into the thickeſt of the enemy, was over-powered, and his ſhip taken. He himſelf was found dead in his cabbin, all covered with blood. The Engliſh had the weather-gage of the enemy; but as the wind blew ſo high, that they could not uſe their lower tire, they received ſmall advantage from this circumſtance. The Dutch ſhot, however, fell chiefly on their ſails and rigging; and few ſhips were ſunk or much damaged. Chain-ſhot was at that time a new invention; which is commonly attributed to de Wit. Sir John Harman exerted himſelf extremely this day. The Dutch Admiral, Evertz, was killed in engaging him. Darkneſs parted the combatants.

1ſt of June.

CHAP. LXIV.

1666.

The ſecond day, the wind was ſomewhat fallen, and the combat became more ſteddy and more terrible. The Engliſh now found, that the moſt heroic valour cannot compenſate the ſuperiority of numbers, againſt an enemy who is well conducted, and who is not defective in courage. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, rivals in glory and enemies from faction, exerted themſelves in emulation of each other; and de Ruyter had the advantage of diſengaging and ſaving his antagoniſt who had been ſurrounded by the Engliſh, and was in the moſt imminent danger. Sixteen freſh ſhips joined the Dutch fleet during the action: And the Engliſh were ſo ſhattered, that their fighting ſhips were reduced to twenty-eight, and they found themſelves obliged to retreat towards their own coaſt. The Dutch followed them, and were juſt on the point of renewing the combat; when a calm, which came a little before night, prevented the engagement.

Next morning, the Engliſh were neceſſitated to continue their retreat; and a proper diſpoſition was made for that purpoſe. The ſhattered ſhips were ordered to ſtretch a-head; and ſixteen of the moſt entire followed them in good order, and kept the enemy in awe. Albemarle himſelf cloſed the rear, and preſented an undaunted countenance to his victorious foes. The Earl of Oſſory, ſon to Ormond, a gallant youth, who ſought honour and danger in every action throughout Europe, was then on board the Admiral. Albemarle confeſſed to him his intention rather to blow up his ſhip and periſh glorioufly, than yield to the enemy. Oſſory applauded this deſperate reſolution.

About two o'clock, the Dutch had come up with their enemy, and were ready to renew the fight; when a new fleet was deſcried from the ſouth, crowding all their ſails to reach the ſcene of action. The Dutch flattered themſelves that Beaufort was arrived, to cut off the

the retreat of the vanquiſhed: The Engliſh hoped, CHAP. LXIV. that Prince Rupert had come, to turn the ſcale of action. Albemarle, who had received intelligence of the Prince's approach, bent his courſe towards him. Unhappily, Sir George Ayſcue, in a ſhip of a hundred guns, the largeſt in the fleet, ſtruck on the Galloper ſands, and could receive no aſſiſtance from his friends, who were haſtening to join the reinforcement. He could not even reap the conſolation of periſhing glorioufly, and revenging his death on his enemies. They were preparing fireſhips to attack him, and he was obliged to ſtrike. The Engliſh ſailors, ſeeing the neceſſity, with the utmoſt indignation ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. 1666.

ALBEMARLE and Prince Rupert were now determined to face the enemy; and next morning, the battle began afreſh, with more equal force than ever, and with equal valour. After long cannonading, the fleets came to a more cloſe combat; which was continued with great violence, till parted by a miſt. The Engliſh retired firſt into their harbours.

THOUGH the Engliſh, by their obſtinate courage, reaped the chief honour in this engagement, it is ſomewhat uncertain, who obtained the victory. The Hollanders took a few ſhips; and having ſome appearances of advantage, expreſſed their ſatisfaction by all the ſigns of triumph and rejoicing. But as the Engliſh fleet was repaired in a little time, and put to ſee more formidable than ever, together with many of thoſe ſhips, which the Dutch had boaſted to have burned or deſtroyed; all Europe ſaw that thoſe two brave nations were engaged in a conteſt, which was not likely, on either ſide, to prove deciſive.

IT was the conjunction of the French alone, which could give the ſuperiority to the Dutch. In order to facilitate this conjunction, de Ruyter, having repaired

CHAP. LXIV.

1666. 25th of July. Victory of the English.

the fleet, posted himself at the mouth of the Thames. The English under Prince Rupert and Albemarle were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty sail; and the valour and experience of the commanders, as well as of the seamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obstinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white squadron of the English, attacked the Dutch van, whom he entirely routed; and he killed the three Admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of action, he was separated from de Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or design was never certainly known. De Ruyter, with great conduct and valour, maintained the combat against the main body of the English; and though overpowered by numbers, kept his station, till night ended the engagement. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet scattered and discouraged, his high spirit was obliged to submit to a retreat, which yet he conducted with such skill, as to render it equally honourable to himself as the greatest victory. Full of indignation however for yielding the superiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch am I? among so "many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end "to my miserable life?" One de Witte, his son-in-law, who stood near, exhorted him, since he sought death, to turn upon the English, and render his life a dear purchase to the victors. But de Ruyter esteemed it more worthy a brave man to persevere to the uttermost, and, as long as possible, to render service to his country. All that night and next day, the English pressed upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled efforts of de Ruyter, that the latter saved themselves in their harbours.

THE loss of the Hollanders in this action was not very considerable; but as violent animosities had broke

out between the two Admirals, who engaged all the officers on one ſide or other, the conſternation, which took place, was very great among the provinces. Tromp's commiſſion was at laſt taken from him; but though ſeveral Captains had miſbehaved, they were ſo well protected by their friends in the magiſtracy of the towns, that moſt of them eſcaped puniſhment, many were ſtill continued in their commands.

CHAP. LXIV. 1666.

THE Engliſh now rode inconteſtible maſters of the ſea, and inſulted the Dutch in their harbours. A detachment under Holmes was ſent into the road of Vlie, and burned a hundred and forty merchantmen, two men of war, together with Brandaris, a large and rich village on the coaſt. The merchants, who loſt by this enterprize, uniting themſelves to the Orange faction, exclaimed againſt an adminiſtration, which, they pretended, had brought ſuch diſgrace and ruin on their country. None but the firm and intrepid mind of de Wit could have ſupported itſelf under ſuch a complication of calamities.

THE King of France, apprehenſive that the Dutch would ſink under their misfortunes; at leaſt, that de Wit, his friend, might be diſpoſſeſſed of the adminiſtration, haſtened the advance of the Duke of Beaufort. The Dutch fleet likewiſe was again equipped; and under the command of de Ruyter, cruiſed near the Straits of Dover. Prince Rupert with the Engliſh navy, now ſtronger than ever, came full ſail upon them. The Dutch Admiral thought proper to decline the combat, and retired into St. John's Road near Bulloigne. Here he ſheltered himſelf, both from the Engliſh, and from a furious ſtorm, which aroſe. Prince Rupert too was obliged to retire into St. Helens; where he ſtayed ſome time, in order to repair the damages, which he had ſuſtained. Mean while the Duke

CHAP. LXIV.

1666. of Beaufort proceeded up the channel, and paſſed the Engliſh fleet unperceived; but he did not find the Dutch, as he expected. De Ruyter had been ſeized with a fever: Many of the chief officers had fallen into ſickneſs: A contagious diſtemper was ſpread through the whole fleet: And the States thought it neceſſary to recal them into their harbours, before the enemy ſhould be refited. The French King, anxious for his navy, which, with ſo much care and induſtry, he had lately built, diſpatched orders to Beaufort, to make the beſt of his way to Breſt. That Admiral had again the good fortune to paſs the Engliſh. One ſhip alone, the Ruby, fell into the hands of the enemy.

3d of September. Fire of London.

WHILE the war continued without any deciſive ſucceſs on either ſide, a dreadful calamity happened in London, which threw the people into great conſternation. A fire, breaking out in a baker's houſe near the bridge, ſpread itſelf on all ſides with ſuch rapidity, that no efforts could extinguiſh it, till it laid in aſhes a conſiderable part of the city. The inhabitants, without being able to do any thing effectual for their relief, were reduced to be ſpectators of their own ruin; and were purſued from ſtreet to ſtreet by the flames, which unexpectedly gathered round them. Three days and nights did the fire advance; and it was only by the blowing up of houſes, that it was at laſt extinguiſhed. The King and Duke uſed their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the flames; but all their induſtry was unſucceſsful. About four hundred ſtreets, and thirteen thouſand houſes were reduced to aſhes.

THE cauſes of this calamity were evident. The narrow ſtreets of London, the houſes built intirely of wood, the dry ſeaſon, and a violent eaſt wind which blew; theſe were ſo many concurring circumſtances, which rendered it eaſy to aſſign the reaſon of the deſtruction

that enſued. But the people were not ſatisfied with this obvious account. Prompted by blind rage, ſome aſcribed the guilt to the republicans, others to the catholics; though it is not eaſy to conceive how the burning of London could ſerve the purpoſes of either party. As the papiſts were the chief objects of public deteſtation, the rumour, which threw the guilt on them, was more favourably received by the people. No proof however, or even preſumption, after the ſtricteſt enquiry by a committee of parliament, ever appeared to authorize ſuch a calumny; yet in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inſcription, engraved by authority on the monument, aſcribed this calamity to that hated ſect. This clauſe was erazed by order of King James, when he came to the throne; but after the revolution it was replaced. So credulous, as well as obſtinate, are the people, in believing every thing, which flatters their prevailing paſſion!

CHAP. LXIV. 1666.

THE fire of London, though at that time a great calamity, has proved in the iſſue beneficial both to the city and the kingdom. The city was rebuilt in a very little time; and care was taken to make the ſtreets wider and more regular than before. A diſcretionary power was aſſumed by the King to regulate the diſtribution of the buildings, and to forbid the uſe of lath and timber, the materials, of which the houſes were formerly compoſed. The neceſſity was ſo urgent, and the occaſion ſo extraordinary, that no exceptions were made to an exerciſe of authority, which otherwiſe might have been eſteemed illegal. Had the King been enabled to carry his power ſtill farther, and made the houſes be rebuilt with perfect regularity, and entirely upon one plan; he had much contributed to the convenience, as well as embelliſhment of the city. Great advantages, however, have reſulted from the alterations; though

CHAP. LXIV.

though not carried to the full length. London became much more healthy after the fire. The plague, which uſed to break out with great fury twice or thrice every century, and indeed was always lurking in ſome corner or other of the city, has not once diſcovered itſelf ſince that calamity.

1666.

THE parliament met ſoon after, and gave the ſanction of law to thoſe regulations made by royal authority; as well as appointed commiſſioners for deciding all ſuch queſtions of property, as might ariſe from the fire. They likewiſe voted a ſupply of 1,800,000 pounds to be levied, partly by a poll-bill, partly by aſſeſſments. Tho' their enquiry brought out no proofs, which could fix on the papiſts the burning of London, the general averſion againſt that ſect ſtill prevailed; and complaints were made, probably without much foundation, of its dangerous increaſe. Charles, at the deſire of the Commons, iſſued a proclamation for the baniſhment of all prieſts and jeſuits; but the bad execution of this, as well as of former edicts, deſtroyed all confidence in his ſincerity, whenever he pretended an averſion towards the catholic religion. Whether ſuſpicions of this nature had diminiſhed the King's popularity, is uncertain;

1667.

but it appears, that the ſupply was voted much later than Charles expected, or even than the public neceſſities ſeemed to require. The intrigues of the Duke of Buckingham, a man who wanted only ſteadineſs to render him extremely dangerous, had ſomewhat embarraſſed the meaſures of the court: And this was the firſt time that the King found any conſiderable reaſon to complain of a failure of confidence in this Houſe of Commons. The riſing ſymptoms of ill humour tended, no doubt, to quicken the ſteps, which were already making towards a peace with foreign enemies.

CHARLES

CHAP. LXIV.

1667. Advances towards peace.

CHARLES began to be ſenſible, that all the ends, for which the war had been undertaken, were likely to prove entirely ineffectual. The Dutch, even when alone, had defended themſelves with great vigor, and were every day improving in their military ſkill and preparations. Though their trade had ſuffered extremely, their extenſive credit enabled them to levy prodigious ſums; and while the ſeamen of England loudly complained of want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly ſupplied with every thing requiſite for its ſubſiſtence. As two powerful Kings now ſupported them, every place, from the extremity of Norway to the coaſts of Bayonne, was become hoſtile to the Engliſh. And Charles, neither fond of action, nor ſtimulated by any violent ambition, gladly ſought for means of reſtoring tranquillity to his people, heartily diſguſted with a war, which, being joined with the plague and fire, had proved ſo fruitleſs and deſtructive.

THE firſt advances towards an accommodation were made by England. When the King ſent for the body of Sir William Berkeley, he inſinuated to the States his deſire of peace on reaſonable terms; and their anſwer correſponded in the ſame amicable intentions. Charles, however, to maintain the appearance of ſuperiority, ſtill inſiſted, that the States ſhould treat at London; and they agreed to make him this compliment ſo far as concerned themſelves: But being engaged in alliance with two crowned heads, they could not, they ſaid, prevail with theſe to depart in that reſpect from their dignity. On a ſudden, the King went ſo far on the other ſide as to offer the ſending Ambaſſadors to the Hague; but this propoſal, which ſeemed honourable to the Dutch, was meant only to divide and diſtract them, by affording the Engliſh an opportunity to carry on cabals with the diſaffected party. The offer was therefore rejected; and conferences were ſecretly held in the Queen-mother's apart-

CHAP. LXIV.

1667.

apartments at Paris, where the pretenſions of both parties were diſcuſſed. The Dutch made very equitable propoſals; either that all things ſhould be reſtored to the ſame condition in which they ſtood before the war; or that both parties ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of their preſent acquiſitions. Charles accepted the latter propoſal; and almoſt every thing was adjuſted, except the diſputes with regard to the iſle of Polerone. This iſland lies in the Eaſt Indies, and was formerly valuable for its product of ſpices. The Engliſh had been maſters of it; but were diſpoſſeſſed at the time when the violences had been committed againſt them at Amboyna. Cromwel had ſtipulated to have it reſtored; and the Hollanders, having firſt entirely deſtroyed all the ſpice trees, maintained, that they had executed the treaty, but that the Engliſh had been anew expelled during the courſe of the war. Charles renewed his pretenſions to this iſland; and as the reaſons on both ſides began to multiply, and ſeemed to require a long diſcuſſion, it was agreed to transfer the treaty to ſome other place; and Charles made choice of Breda.

LORD Hollis and Henry Coventry were the Engliſh Ambaſſadors. They immediately deſired, that a ſuſpenſion of arms ſhould be agreed to, till the ſeveral claims ſhould be adjuſted: But this propoſal, ſeemingly ſo natural, was rejected by the intereſt of de Wit. That penetrating and active miniſter, thoroughly acquainted with the characters of Princes and the ſituation of affairs, had diſcovered an opportunity of ſtriking a blow, which might at once reſtore to the Dutch the honour loſt during the war, and ſeverely revenge thoſe injuries, which he aſcribed to the wanton ambition and injuſtice of the Engliſh.

WHATEVER projects might have been formed by Charles for ſecreting the money granted him by parliament, he had hitherto failed in his intention. The expences

pences of ſuch vaſt armaments had exhauſted all the ſupplies [g]; and even a great debt was contracted to the ſeamen. The King therefore was reſolved to ſave as far as poſſible, the laſt ſupply of 1,800,000 pounds; and to employ it for payment of his debts, as well thoſe occaſioned by the war, as thoſe which either neceſſity, or pleaſure, or generoſity had formerly engaged him to contract. He obſerved, that the Dutch had been with great reluctance forced into the war, and that the events of it were not ſuch as to inſpire them with great deſire of its continuance. The French, he knew, had been engaged into hoſtilities by no other motive than that of ſupporting their allies; and were now more deſirous than ever of putting an end to the quarrel. The differences between the parties were ſo inconſiderable, that the concluſion of peace appeared abſolutely infallible; and nothing but forms, or at leaſt ſome vain points of honour, ſeemed to remain for the Ambaſſadors at Breda to diſcuſs. In this ſituation, Charles, allured by the proſpect of gain, raſhly remitted his preparations, and expoſed England to one of the greateſt affronts, which it has ever received. Two ſmall ſquadrons alone were equipped; and during a war with ſuch potent and martial enemies, every thing was left almoſt in the ſame ſituation as in times of the moſt profound tranquillity.

CHAP. LXIV. 1667.

De Wit protracted the negotiations at Breda, and haſtened the naval preparations. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames under the command of de Ruyter, and threw the Engliſh into the utmoſt conſternation. A chain had been drawn croſs the river Medway; ſome fortifications had been added to Sheerneſs and Up-

[g] The Dutch had ſpent on the war near 40 millions of livres a year, above 3 millions ſterling: A much greater ſum than had been granted by the Engliſh parliament. D'Eſtrades, 24th of December 1665; 1ſt of January 1666. Temple, vol. i. p. 71. It was probably the want of money which engaged the King to pay the ſeamen with tickets; a contrivance which proved ſo much to their loſs.

nore

CHAP. LXIV.

1667.

nore caſtle: But all theſe preparations were unequal to the preſent neceſſity. Sheerneſs was ſoon taken; nor could it be ſaved by the valour of Sir Edward Sprague, who defended it. Having the advantage of a ſpring tide, and an eaſterly wind, the Dutch preſſed on, and broke the chain, though fortified by ſome ſhips, which had been there ſunk by order of the Duke of Albemarle. They burned the three ſhips, which lay to guard the chain, the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the fifth. After damaging ſeveral veſſels, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the hull of the Royal Charles, which the Engliſh had burned, they advanced with ſix men of war, and five fire-ſhips, as far as Upnore caſtle, where they burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James. Captain Douglas, who commanded on board the Royal Oak, periſhed in the flames, tho' he had an eaſy opportunity of eſcaping. "Never was it known," he ſaid, "that a Douglas had left his poſt without orders[h]." The Hollanders fell down the Medway without receiving any conſiderable damage; and it was apprehended, that they might next tide ſail up the Thames, and extend their hoſtilities even to the bridge of London. Nine ſhips were ſunk at Woolwich, four at Blackwall: Platforms were raiſed in many places, furniſhed with artillery: The train bands were called out; and every place was full of the utmoſt diſorder, The Dutch ſailed next to Portſmouth, where they made a fruitleſs attempt: They met with no better ſucceſs at Plymouth: They inſulted Harwich: They ſailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulſed. The whole coaſt was in alarm; and had the French thought proper at this time to join the Dutch fleet, and to invade England, conſequences the moſt fatal might juſtly have been apprehended. But Lewis had no intention to puſh the victory to ſuch extremi-

10th of June Diſgrace at Chatham.

[h] Temple, vol. ii. p. 41.

ties,

ties. His intereſt required, that a ballance ſhould be kept between the two maritime powers; not that an uncontrouled ſuperiority ſhould be given to either. CHAP. LXIV. 1667.

Great indignation prevailed amongſt the Engliſh, to ſee an enemy, whom they regarded as inferior, whom they had expected totally to ſubdue, and over whom they had gained many honourable advantages, now of a ſudden ride undiſputed maſters of the ocean, burn their ſhips in their very harbours, fill every place with confuſion, and ſtrike a terror into the capital itſelf. But though the cauſe of all theſe diſaſters could be aſcribed neither to bad fortune, to the miſconduct of admirals, nor the miſbehaviour of ſeamen, but ſolely to the avarice, at leaſt to the improvidence, of the government; no dangerous ſymptoms of diſcontent appeared, and no attempt for an inſurrection was made by any of thoſe numerous ſectaries, who had been ſo openly branded for their rebellious principles, and who upon that ſuppoſition had been treated with ſuch ſeverity [1].

In the preſent diſtreſs, two expedients were embraced: An army of 12,000 men was ſuddenly levied; and the parliament, though it lay under prorogation, was ſummoned to meet. The houſes were very thin; and the only vote, which the Commons paſſed, was an addreſs for breaking the army; which was complied with. This expreſſion of jealouſy ſhewed the court what they might expect from that aſſembly; and it was thought moſt prudent to prorogue them till next winter.

But the ſigning the treaty at Breda, extricated the King from his preſent difficulties. The Engliſh Ambaſſadors received orders to recede from thoſe demands, 10th of July Peace of Breda.

[1] Some nonconformiſts however, both in Scotland and England, had kept a correſpondence with the States, and had entertained projects for inſurrections, but they were too weak even to attempt the execution of them. D'Eſtrades, 13th of October, 1665.

which,

CHAP. LXIV.

1667.

which, however frivolous in themſelves, could not now be relinquiſhed, without acknowledging a ſuperiority in the enemy. Polerone remained with the Dutch; ſatisfaction for the ſhips, Bonaventure and Good-hope, the pretended grounds of the quarrel, was no longer inſiſted on; Acadie was yielded to the French. The acquiſition of New-York, a ſettlement ſo important by its ſituation, was the chief advantage which the Engliſh reaped from a war, in which the national character of bravery had ſhone out with great luſtre, but where the miſconduct of the government, eſpecially in the concluſion, had been no leſs apparent.

Clarendon's fall.

To appeaſe the people by ſome ſacrifice ſeemed requiſite before the meeting of the parliament; and the prejudices of the nation plainly pointed out the victim. The Chancellor was at this time much expoſed to the hatred of the public, and of every party, which divided the nation. All the numerous ſectaries regarded him as their determined enemy; and aſcribed to his advice and influence, thoſe perſecuting laws, to which they had ſo long been expoſed. The catholics knew, that while he retained any authority, all their credit with the King and the Duke would be entirely uſeleſs to them, nor muſt they ever expect any favour or indulgence. Even the royaliſts, diſappointed in their ſanguine hopes of preferment, threw a great load of envy on Clarendon, into whoſe hands the King ſeemed at firſt to have reſigned the whole power of government. The ſale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the ſeamen, the diſgrace at Chatham, the unſucceſsful concluſion of the war; all theſe misfortunes were charged on the Chancellor, who, though he had ever oppoſed the rupture with Holland, thought it ſtill his duty to juſtify what he could not prevent. A building likewiſe of more expence and magnificence than his ſlender fortune could afford, being unwarily undertaken by him, much

expoſed

exposed him to public reproach, as if he had acquired great riches by corruption. The populace gave it commonly the appellation of Dunkirk House. 1667.

THE King himself, who had always more revered than loved the Chancellor, was now totally estranged from him. Amidst the dissolute manners of the court, that minister still maintained an inflexible dignity, and would not submit to any condescensions, which he deemed unworthy his age and character. Buckingham, a man of profligate morals, happy in his talent of ridicule, but exposed in his own conduct to all the ridicule, which he threw on others, still made him the object of his raillery, and gradually lessened in the King that regard, which he bore to his minister. When any difficulties arose, either for want of power or money, the blame was still cast on him, who, it was believed, had carefully at the restoration checked all lavish concessions to the King. And what perhaps touched Charles more nearly, he found in Clarendon, it is said, obstacles to his pleasure as well as to his ambition.

THE King disgusted with the homely person of his spouse, and desirous of having children, had hearkened to proposals of obtaining a divorce, on pretence either of her being pre-engaged to another, or of having made a vow of chastity before her marriage. He was farther stimulated by his passion for Mrs. Stuart, daughter to a Scots gentleman; a lady of great beauty, and whose virtue he had hitherto found impregnable: But Clarendon, apprehensive of the consequences attending a disputed title, and perhaps anxious for the succession of his grandchildren, engaged the Duke of Richmond to marry Mrs. Stuart, and thereby put an end to the King's hopes. It is pretended, that Charles never forgave this disappointment.

WHEN politics, therefore, and inclination both concurred to make the King sacrifice Clarendon to popular

CHAP. LXIV.

1667.

prejudices, the memory of his paſt ſervices was not able any longer to delay his fall. The ſeals were taken from him, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman. Southampton the Treaſurer was now dead, who had perſevered to the utmoſt in his attachments to the Chancellor. The laſt time he appeared at the council board, he exerted his friendſhip with a vigour, which neither age nor infirmities could abate. "This man," ſaid he, ſpeaking of Clarendon, "is a true proteſtant, and an honeſt Engliſhman; and "while he enjoys power, we are ſecure of our laws, "liberties, and religion. I dread the conſequences of "his removal."

BUT the fall of the Chancellor was not ſufficient to gratify the malice of his enemies: His total ruin was reſolved on. The Duke of York in vain exerted his intereſt in behalf of his father-in-law. Both Prince and people united in promoting that violent meaſure; and no means were thought ſo proper for ingratiating the court with a parliament, which had ſo long been governed by that very miniſter, who was now to be the victim of their prejudices.

SOME popular acts paved the way for the ſeſſion; and the parliament, in their firſt addreſs, gave the King thanks for theſe inſtances of his goodneſs, and among the reſt, they took care to mention his diſmiſſion of Clarendon. The King, in reply, aſſured the Houſes, that he would never again employ that nobleman in any public office whatſoever. Immediately, the charge againſt him was opened in the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Seymour, afterwards Sir Edward, and conſiſted of ſeventeen articles. The Houſe, without examining particulars, farther than hearing general affirmations, that all would be proved, immediately voted his impeachment. Many of the articles [k] we

[k] The articles were, that he had adviſed the King to govern by military power without parliaments, that he had affirmed the King to be a papiſt or popiſhly affected,

we know to be either falſe or frivolous; and ſuch of them, as we are leſs acquainted with, we may fairly preſume to be no better grounded. His adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk, ſeems the heavieſt and trueſt part of the charge; but a miſtake in judgment, allowing it to be ſuch, where there appears no ſymptoms of corruption or bad intentions, it would be very hard to charge as a crime on any miniſter. The King's neceſſities, which occaſioned that meaſure, cannot with any appearance of reaſon be imputed to Clarendon; and chiefly proceeded from the over-frugal maxims of the parliament itſelf, in not granting the proper ſupplies to the crown.

WHEN the charge was carried up to the Peers, as it contained an accuſation of treaſon in general, without ſpecifying any particulars, it ſeemed not a ſufficient ground for committing Clarendon to cuſtody. The precedents of Strafford and Laud were not, by reaſon of the violence of the times, deemed a proper authority; but as the Commons ſtill inſiſted upon his commitment, it was neceſſary to appoint a free conference

affected, that he had received great ſums of money for procuring the Canary patent, and other illegal patents, that he had adviſed and procured divers of his Majeſty's ſubjects to be impriſoned againſt law, in remote iſlands and garriſons, thereby to prevent their having the benefit of the law, that he had procured the cuſtoms to be farmed at under-rates, that he had received great ſums from the Vintners' Company, for allowing them to inhance the price of wines, that he had in a ſhort time gained a greater eſtate than could have been ſuppoſed to ariſe from the profits of his offices, that he had introduced an arbitrary government into his Majeſty's plantations, that he had rejected a propoſal for the preſervation of Nevis and St. Chriſtophers, which was the occaſion of great loſſes in thoſe parts, that when he was in his Majeſty's ſervice beyond ſea he held a correſpondence with Cromwel and his accomplices, that he adviſed the ſale of Dunkirk, that he had unduly altered letters patent under the King's ſeal, that he had unduly decided cauſes in council, which ſhould have been brought before chancery, that he had iſſued quo warrantos againſt corporations with an intention of ſqueezing money from them, that he had taken money for paſſing the bill of ſettlement of Ireland, that he betrayed the nation in all foreign treaties, and that he was the principal adviſer of dividing the fleet in June 1666.

CHAP. LXIV. 1667.

between the Houſes. The Lords perſevered in their reſolution; and the Commons voted this conduct to be an obſtruction to public juſtice, and a precedent of evil and dangerous conſequence. They alſo choſe a committee to draw up a vindication of their own proceedings.

Clarendon, finding that the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, ran with great impetuoſity againſt him, and that a defence, offered to ſuch prejudiced ears, would be entirely ineffectual, thought proper to withdraw himſelf. At Calais, he wrote a paper addreſſed to the Houſe of Lords. He there ſaid, that his fortune, which was but moderate, had been gained entirely by the lawful, avowed profits of his office, and by the voluntary bounty of the King; that during the firſt years after the reſtoration he had always concurred in opinion with the other counſellors, men of ſuch reputation that no one could entertain ſuſpicions of their wiſdom or integrity; that his credit ſoon declined, and however he might diſapprove of ſome meaſures, he found it in vain to oppoſe them; that his repugnance to the Dutch war, the ſource of all the public grievances, was always generally known, as well as his diſapprobation of many unhappy ſteps taken in conducting it; and that whatever pretence might be made of national offences, his real crime, that which had exaſperated his powerful enemies, was his frequent oppoſition to oxorbitant grants, which the importunity of ſuitors had extorted from his Majeſty.

This paper the Lords tranſmitted to the Commons under the appellation of a libel; and by a vote of both Houſes, it was condemned to be burned by the hands of the hangman. They next proceeded to exert their legiſlative power againſt Clarendon, and paſſed a bill of baniſhment and incapacity, which received the royal aſſent. He retired into France, where he lived in a private manner. He ſurvived his baniſhment ſix years; and

Clarendon's baniſhment.

and he employed his leiſure chiefly in reducing into order the Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials. The performance does great honour to his memory; and, except Whitelock's Memorials, is the moſt candid account of thoſe times, compoſed by any cotemporary author. CHAP. LXIV. 1667.

CLARENDON was always a friend to the liberty and the conſtitution of his country. At the commencement of the civil wars, he had entered into the late King's ſervice, and was honoured with a great ſhare in the eſteem and friendſhip of that monarch: He was purſued with unrelenting animoſity by the Long Parliament: He had ſhared all the fortunes and directed all the councils of the preſent King during his exile: He had been advanced to the higheſt truſt and offices after the reſtoration: Yet all theſe circumſtances, which might naturally operate with ſuch force, either on reſentment, gratitude, or ambition, had no influence on his uncorrupted mind. It is ſaid, that when he firſt engaged in the ſtudy of the law, his father exhorted him with great earneſtneſs to ſhun the practice too common in that profeſſion, of ſtraining every point in favour of prerogative, and perverting ſo uſeful a ſcience to the oppreſſion of liberty: And in the midſt of theſe rational and virtuous councils, which he re-iterated, he was ſuddenly ſeized with an apoplexy, and expired in his ſon's preſence. This circumſtance gave additional weight to the principles, which he inculcated.

THE combination of King and ſubject to oppreſs ſo good a miniſter affords, to men of oppoſite diſpoſitions, an equal occaſion of inveighing againſt the ingratitude of Princes, or ignorance of the people. Charles ſeems never to have mitigated his reſentment againſt Clarendon; and the national prejudices purſued him to his retreat in France. A company of Engliſh ſoldiers, being

CHAP. LXIV.

ing quartered near him, assaulted his house, broke open the doors, gave him a dangerous wound on the head, and would have proceeded to the last extremity, had not their officers, hearing of the violence, happily interposed.

1667.

1668. THE next expedient, which the King embraced, in order to acquire popularity, is much more deserving of praise; and, had it been steadily pursued, would probably have rendered his reign happy, certainly his memory glorious. It is the Triple Alliance of which I speak; a measure, which gave entire satisfaction to the public.

State of France. THE glory of France, which had long been eclipsed, either by domestic factions, or by the superior force of the Spanish monarchy, began now to break out with great lustre, and to engage the attention of all the neighbouring nations. The independant power and mutinous spirit of the nobility were subdued: The popular pretensions of the parliament restrained: The Hugonot party reduced to subjection: That extensive and fertile country, possessed of every advantage both of climate and situation, was fully peopled with ingenious and industrious inhabitants: And while the spirit of the nation discovered all the vigour and bravery requisite for great enterprizes, it was tamed to an entire submission under the will of the Sovereign.

Character of Lewis XIV. THE Sovereign, who now filled the throne, was well adapted, by his personal character, both to increase and to avail himself of these mighty advantages. Lewis the fourteenth, endowed with every quality, which could enchant the people, possessed many which merit the approbation of the wise. The masculine beauty of his person was embellished with a noble air: The dignity of his behaviour was tempered with the highest affability and

and politeneſs: Elegant without effeminacy, addicted to pleaſure without neglecting buſineſs, decent in his very vices, and beloved in the midſt of arbitrary power; he ſurpaſſed all cotemporary monarchs, as in grandeur, ſo likewiſe in fame and glory. CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

His ambition, regulated by prudence, not by juſtice, had carefully provided every means of conqueſt; and before he put himſelf in motion, he ſeemed to have abſolutely enſured ſucceſs. His finances were brought into order: A naval power created: His armies increaſed and diſciplined: Magazines and military ſtores provided: And though the magnificence of his court was ſupported beyond all former example, ſo regular was the oeconomy obſerved, and ſo willingly did the people, now enriched by arts and commerce, ſubmit to mutliplied taxes, that his military force much exceeded what in any preceding age had ever been employed by any European monarch.

The ſudden decline and almoſt total fall of the Spaniſh monarchy opened an inviting field to ſo enterpriſing a Prince, and ſeemed to promiſe him an eaſy and univerſal conqueſt. The other nations of Europe, feeble or ill-governed, were aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of his riſing empire; and all of them caſt their eyes towards England, as the only power, which could ſave them from that ſubjection, with which they were ſo nearly threatened.

The animoſity, which had antiently ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and French nations, and which had been ſuſpended for above a century by the jealouſy of Spaniſh greatneſs, began to revive and to exert itſelf. The glory of preſerving the ballance of Europe, a glory ſo much founded on juſtice and humanity, flattered the ambition of England; and the whole people were eager to provide for their own future ſecurity, by oppoſing

CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

the progreſs of ſo hated a rival. The proſpect of embracing ſuch meaſures had contributed, among other reaſons, to render the peace of Breda ſo univerſally acceptable to the nation. By the death of Philip the fourth, King of Spain, an inviting opportunity, and ſome very ſlender pretences, had been afforded to call forth the ambition of Lewis.

At the treaty of the Pyrenees, when Lewis eſpouſed the Spaniſh Princeſs, he had renounced every title of ſucceſſion to every part of the Spaniſh monarchy; and this renounciation had been couched in the moſt accurate and moſt preciſe terms, which language could afford. But on the death of his father-in-law, he retracted his renounciation, and pretended, that natural rights, depending on blood and ſucceſſion, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a ſon, Charles the ſecond of Spain; but as the Queen of France was of a former marriage, ſhe laid claim to a conſiderable province of the Spaniſh monarchy, even to the excluſion of her brother. By the cuſtoms of ſome parts of Brabant, a female of a firſt marriage was preferred to a male of a ſecond, in the ſucceſſion to private inheritances; and Lewis thence inferred, that his Queen had acquired a right to the dominion of that important dutchy.

French invaſion of the Low Countries.

A claim of this nature was more properly ſupported by military force than by argument and reaſoning. Lewis appeared on the frontiers of the Netherlands with a numerous army of 40,000 men, commanded by the beſt generals of the age, and provided of every thing neceſſary for action. The Spaniards, though they might have foreſeen this meaſure, were totally unprepared. Their towns, without magazines, without fortifications, without garriſons, fell into the hands of the French King, as ſoon as he preſented himſelf before them.

Athe, Liſle, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtray, Charleroi, Binche were immediately taken: And it was viſible, that no force in the Low Countries was able to ſtop or retard the progreſs of the French arms. CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

THIS meaſure, executed with ſo much celerity and ſucceſs, gave great alarm to almoſt every court in Europe. It had been obſerved with what dignity, or even haughtineſs, Lewis, from the time he began to govern, had ever ſupported all his rights and pretenſions. D'Eſtrades, the French Ambaſſador, and Watteville, the Spaniſh, having quarrelled in London, on account of their pretenſions for precedency, the French monarch was not ſatisfied, till Spain ſent to Paris a ſolemn embaſſy, and promiſed never more to revive ſuch conteſts. Crequi, his Ambaſſador in Rome, had met with an affront from the Pope's guards. The Pope, Alexander the ſeventh, had been obliged to break his guards, to diſpatch his nephew to aſk pardon, and to allow a pillar to be erected in Rome itſelf, as a monument of his own humiliation. The King of England too had experienced the high ſpirit and unſubmitting temper of Lewis. A claim of precedency in the Engliſh flag having been advanced, the French monarch remonſtrated with ſuch vigour, and prepared himſelf to reſiſt with ſuch courage, that Charles found it more prudent to deſiſt from his pretenſions. The King of England, ſaid Lewis to his Ambaſſador D'Eſtrades, may know my force, but he knows not the ſentiments of my heart: Every thing appears to me contemptible in compariſon of glory [1]. Theſe meaſures of conduct had given ſtrong indications of his character: But the invaſion of Flanders diſcovered an ambition, which, being ſupported by ſuch overgrown power, menaced the general liberties of Europe.

As no State lay nearer the danger, none was ſeized with more terror than the United Provinces. They

[1] 25th of January, 1662.

were

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

were ſtill engaged, together with France, in a war againſt England; and Lewis had promiſed them, that he would take no ſteps againſt Spain without previouſly informing them: But, contrary to this aſſurance, he kept a total ſilence, till on the very point of entering upon action. If the renounciation, made at the treaty of the Pyrenees, was not valid, it was foreſeen, that, upon the death of the King of Spain, a ſickly infant, the whole monarchy would be claimed by Lewis; after which it would be vainly expected to ſet bounds to his pretenſions. Charles, acquainted with theſe well-grounded apprehenſions of the Dutch, had been the more obſtinate in inſiſting on conditions at Breda; and by delaying to ſign the treaty, had imprudently expoſed himſelf to the ſignal diſgrace, which he received at Chatham. De Wit, ſenſible, that a few week's delay would be of no conſequence in the Low Countries, took this opportunity of ſtriking an important blow, and of finiſhing the war with honour to himſelf and to his country.

Negotiations.

NEGOTIATIONS meanwhile commenced for the ſaving Flanders; but no reſiſtance was made to the French arms. The Spaniſh miniſters exclaimed every where againſt the flagrant injuſtice of Lewis's pretenſions, and repreſented it to be the intereſt of every power in Europe, even more than of Spain itſelf, to prevent his conqueſt of the Low Countries. The Emperor and the German Princes diſcovered evident ſymptoms of diſcontent; but their motions were ſlow and backward. The States, though terrified at the proſpect of having their frontiers expoſed to ſo formidable a foe, ſaw no reſource, no means of ſafety. England indeed ſeemed diſpoſed to make oppoſition to the French; but the variable and impolitic conduct of Charles kept that republic from making him any open advances, by which they might loſe the friendſhip of France, without acquiring any new

new ally. And though Lewis, dreading a combination of all Europe, had offered terms of accommodation, the Dutch apprehended leſt theſe, either from the obſtinacy of the Spaniards, or the ambition of the French, would never be carried into execution. 1668.

CHARLES reſolved with great prudence to take the firſt ſtep towards a confederacy. Sir William Temple, his reſident at Bruſſels, received orders to go ſecretly to the Hague, and to concert with the States the means of ſaving the Netherlands. This man, whom philoſophy had taught to deſpiſe the world, without rendering him unfit for it, was frank, open, ſincere, ſuperior to the little tricks of vulgar politicians: And meeting in de Wit with a man of the ſame generous and enlarged ſentiments, he immediately opened his maſter's intention, and preſſed a ſpeedy concluſion. A treaty was from the firſt negotiated between theſe two ſtateſmen with the ſame cordiality, as if it were a private affair, tranſacted between two intimate companions. Deeming the intereſts of their country the ſame, they gave full ſcope to that ſympathy of character, which diſpoſed them to an intire reliance on each others profeſſions and engagements. And though the jealouſy againſt the houſe of Orange might inſpire de Wit with an averſion to a ſtrict union with England, he generouſly reſolved to ſacrifice all private conſiderations to the public ſervice.

TEMPLE preſſed an offenſive league between England and Holland, in order to oblige France to relinquiſh all her conqueſts: But de Wit told him, that this meaſure was too bold and precipitant to be agreed to by the States. He ſaid, that the French were the old and conſtant allies of the republic; and till matters came to extremity, ſhe never would deem it prudent to abandon a friendſhip ſo well eſtabliſhed, and rely entirely on a treaty

CHAP. LXIV.

1663.

treaty with England, which had lately waged ſo cruel a war againſt her: That ever ſince the reign of Elizabeth, there had been ſuch a fluctuation in the Engliſh councils, that it was not poſſible, for two years together, to take any ſure or certain meaſures with that kingdom: That though the preſent miniſtry, having entered into views ſo conformable to national intereſt, promiſed greater firmneſs and conſtancy, it might ſtill be unſafe, in a buſineſs of ſuch conſequence, to put entire confidence in them: That the French monarch was young, haughty, and powerful; and if treated in ſo imperious a manner, would expoſe himſelf to the greateſt extremities rather than ſubmit: That it was ſufficient, if he could be conſtrained to adhere to the offers, which he himſelf had already made; and if the remaining provinces of the Low Countries could be thereby ſaved from the danger, with which they were at preſent threatned: And that the other powers, in Germany and the north, whoſe aſſiſtance they might expect, would be ſatisfied with putting a ſtop to the French conqueſts, without pretending to recover the places, which were already loſt.

THE Engliſh Ambaſſador was contented to accept of the terms, propoſed by the penſionary. Lewis had offered to relinquiſh all the Queen's rights on condition either of keeping the conqueſts, which he had made laſt campaign, or of receiving, in lieu of them, Franche-comté, together with Cambray, Aire, and St. Omers. De Wit and Temple founded their treaty upon this propoſal. They agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept of it. If Spain refuſed, they agreed, that France ſhould not proſecute her claim by arms, but leave it entirely to England and Holland to employ force for making the terms effectual. And the remainder of the Low Countries they thenceforth guaranteed

guaranteed to Spain. A defenſive treaty was likewiſe concluded between Holland and England. CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

THE articles of this confederacy were ſoon adjuſted by ſuch candid and able negotiators: But the greateſt difficulty ſtill remained. By the conſtitution of the republic, all the towns in all the provinces muſt give their conſent to every treaty; and beſides that this formality could not be diſpatched in leſs than two months, it was juſtly to be dreaded, that the influence of France would obſtruct the paſſage of the treaty in ſome of the ſmaller cities. D'Eſtrades, the French Ambaſſador, a man of great ability, hearing of the league, which was on the carpet, treated it very lightly; "Six weeks "hence," ſaid he, "we ſhall ſpeak to it." To obviate this difficulty, de Wit had the courage, for the public good, to break through the laws in ſo fundamental an article; and by his authority, he prevailed with the States General at once to ſign and ratify the league: Though they acknowledged, that, if that meaſure ſhould diſpleaſe their conſtituents, they riſqued their heads by this irregularity. After ſealing, all parties embraced with great cordiality. Temple cried out, *At Breda, as friends: Here, as brothers.* And de Wit added, that now the matter was finiſhed, it looked like a miracle. 13th of January.

ROOM had been left in the treaty for the acceſſion of Sweden, which was ſoon after obtained; and thus was concluded in five days the triple league; an event received with equal ſurpriſe and approbation by the world. Notwithſtanding the unfortunate concluſion of the laſt war, England now appeared in her proper ſtation, and, by this wiſe conduct, had recovered all her influence and credit in Europe. Temple likewiſe received great applauſe; but to all the compliments made him on that occaſion, he modeſtly replied: That to remove things Triple league.

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CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

from their center, or proper element, required force and labour; but that of themſelves they eaſily returned to it.

THE French monarch was extremely diſpleaſed with this meaſure. Not only bounds were at preſent ſet to his ambition: Such a barrier was alſo raiſed as ſeemed for ever impregnable. And though his own offer was made the foundation of the treaty, he had preſcribed ſo ſhort a time for the acceptance of that offer, that he ſtill expected, from the delays and reluctance of Spain, to find ſome opportunity of eluding it. The court of Madrid ſhowed equal diſpleaſure. To be obliged to give up any part of the Spaniſh provinces, in lieu of claims, ſo apparently unjuſt, and theſe urged with ſuch violence and haughtineſs, inſpired the higheſt diſguſt. Often did they threaten to abandon entirely the Low Countries rather than ſubmit to ſo cruel a mortification; and they endeavoured, by this menace, to terrify the mediating powers into more vigorous meaſures for their ſupport. But Temple and de Wit were better acquainted with the views and intereſts of Spain. They knew, that ſhe muſt ſtill retain the Low Countries, as a bond of connexion with the other European powers, who alone, if her young monarch ſhould happen to die without iſſue, could enſure her independency againſt the pretenſions of France. They ſtill urged, therefore, the terms of the triple league, and threatned Spain with war in caſe of refuſal. The plenipotentiaries of all the powers met at Aix-la-Chapelle. Temple was miniſter for England; Van Beuninghen for Holland; D'Hona for Sweden.

SPAIN at laſt, preſſed on all hands, accepted of the alternative offered: but in her very compliance, ſhe gave ſtrong ſymptoms of ill-humour and diſcontent. It had been apparent, that the Hollanders, entirely neglecting

lecting the honour of the Spaniſh monarchy, had been anxious only for their own ſecurity; and, provided they could remove Lewis to a diſtance from their frontiers, were more indifferent what progreſs he made in all other places. Senſible of theſe views, the Queen-regent of Spain reſolved ſtill to keep them in an anxiety, which might for the future be the foundation of an union more intimate than they were willing at preſent to enter into. Franchecomté, by a vigorous and well concerted plan of the French King, had been conquered, in fifteen days, during a rigorous ſeaſon, and in the midſt of winter. She choſe therefore to recover this province, and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the laſt campaign. By this means, Lewis extended his garriſons into the heart of the Low Countries; and a very feeble barrier remained to the Spaniſh provinces.

CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

But notwithſtanding the advantages of his ſituation, the French monarch could entertain ſmall hopes of ever extending his conqueſts on that quarter, which lay the moſt expoſed to his ambition, and where his acquiſitions were of moſt importance. The triple league guaranteed the remaining provinces to Spain; and the Emperor and other powers of Germany, whoſe intereſts ſeemed to be ſtrongly concerned, were invited to enter into the ſame confederacy. Spain herſelf having about this time, under the mediation of Charles, made peace on equal terms with Portugal, might be expected to exert more vigour in oppoſition to her haughty and triumphant rival. The mighty ſatisfaction, expreſſed in England, on account of the councils now embraced by the court, promiſed the hearty concurrence of parliament in every meaſure, which could be propoſed for oppoſition to the grandeur of France. And thus all Europe ſeemed to repoſe herſelf with ſecurity under the wings of that powerful confederacy, which had ſo happily

CHAP. LXIV.

1663.

pily been formed for her protection. It is now time to give ſome account of the ſtate of affairs in Scotland and in Ireland.

Affairs of Scotland.

THE Scots nation, though they had never been ſubject to the arbitrary power of their prince, had but very imperfect notions of law and liberty; and ſcarce in any age had they ever enjoyed an adminiſtration, which had confined itſelf within the proper boundaries. By their final union alone with England, their once hated antagoniſt, they have happily attained the experience of a government perfectly regular, and exempt from all violence and injuſtice. Charles, from his averſion to buſineſs, had entruſted the affairs of that country to his miniſters, particularly Middleton; and theſe could not forbear making very extraordinary ſtretches of authority.

THERE had been intercepted a letter, wrote by Lorne to Lord Duffus, in which, a little too plainly, but very truly, he complained, that his enemies had endeavoured by falſhood to prepoſſeſs the King againſt him. But he ſaid, that he had now diſcovered them, and had defeated them, and had gained the perſon, meaning the Earl of Clarendon, upon whom the chief of them depended. This letter was produced before the parliament; and Lorne was tried upon an old, tyrannical, abſurd law of *Leaſing-making*; by which it was rendered criminal to belie the ſubjects to the King, or create in him an ill opinion of them. He was condemned to die: But Charles was much diſpleaſed with the ſentence, and granted him a pardon [m].

It was carried in parliament, that twelve perſons, without crime, witneſs, trial, or accuſer, ſhould be declared incapable of all truſt or office; and to render this injuſtice more egregious, it was agreed, that theſe per-

[m] Burnet, p. 149.

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ſons ſhould be named by ballot: A method of voting, which ſeveral republics had adopted at elections, in order to prevent faction and intrigue; but which could ſerve only as a cover to malice and iniquity, in the inflicting of puniſhments. Lauderdale, Crawford, and Sir Robert Murray, among others, were incapacitated! But the King, who diſapproved of this injuſtice, refuſed his aſſent [n].

An act was paſſed againſt all perſons, who ſhould move the King for reſtoring the children of thoſe attainted by parliament; an unheard-of reſtraint on applications for grace and mercy. No penalty was affixed; but the act was but the more violent and tyrannical on that account. The court-lawyers had eſtabliſhed it as a maxim, that the aſſigning a puniſhment was a limitation of the crown: Whereas a law, forbidding any thing, though without a penalty, made the offenders criminal. And in that caſe, they determined, that the puniſhment was arbitrary; only that it could not extend to life. Middleton as commiſſioner paſſed this act; though he had no inſtructions for that purpoſe.

An act of indemnity paſſed; but at the ſame time it was voted, that all thoſe who had offended during the late diſorders, ſhould be ſubjected to fines; and a committee of parliament was appointed for impoſing them. Theſe proceeded without any regard to ſome equitable rules, which the King had preſcribed to them [o]. The moſt obnoxious compounded ſecretly. No conſideration was had, either of men's eſtates, or of the degrees of their guilt: No proofs were produced: Enquiries were not ſo much as made: But as faſt as information was given in againſt any man, he was marked down for a particular fine: And all was tranſacted in a ſecret committee. When the liſt was read in parliament, excep-

[n] Burnet, p. 152. [o] Id. p. 147.

CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

tions were made to many: Some had been under age during the civil wars; ſome had been abroad. But it was ſtill replied, that a proper time would come, when every man ſhould be heard in his own defence. The only intention, it was ſaid, of ſetting the fine was, that ſuch perſons ſhould have no benefit by the act of indemnity, unleſs they paid the ſum demanded: Every one that choſe to ſtand upon his innocence, and renounce the benefit of the indemnity, might do it at his peril. It was well known, that no one would dare ſo far to ſet at defiance ſo arbitrary an adminiſtration. The King wrote to the council, ordering them to ſuperſede the levying thoſe fines: But Middleton found means, during ſome time, to elude thoſe orders [p]. And at laſt, the King obliged his miniſters to compound for half the ſums, which had been impoſed. In all theſe tranſactions, and in moſt others, which paſſed during the preſent reign, we ſtill find the moderating hand of the King, interpoſed to protect the Scots from the oppreſſions, which their own countrymen, employed in the miniſtry, were deſirous of exerciſing over them.

But the chief circumſtance, whence were derived all the ſubſequent tyranny and diſorders in Scotland, was the rigorous execution of the laws for the eſtabliſhment of epiſcopacy, to which a great part of the nation had entertained the moſt unſurmountable averſion. The right of patrons had for ſome years been aboliſhed; and the power of electing miniſters had been veſted in the kirk-ſeſſion, and lay-elders. It was now enacted, that all incumbents, who had been admitted upon this title, ſhould receive a preſentation from the patron, and ſhould be inſtituted anew by the biſhop, under the penalty of deprivation. The more rigid preſbyterians concerted meaſures among themſelves, and refuſed obe-

[p] Burnet, p. 201.

dience:

dience: They imagined, that their number would protect them. Three hundred and fifty parishes, above a third of the kingdom, were at once declared vacant. The western counties chiefly were obstinate in this particular. New ministers were sought for all over the kingdom; and no one was so ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. The people, who loved extremely and respected their former teachers; men remarkable for the severity of their manners, and their fervor in preaching; were inflamed against these intruders, who had obtained their livings under such invidious circumstances, and who took no care, by the regularity of their manners, to soften the prejudices contracted against them. Even most of those, who retained their livings by compliance, fell under the imputation of hypocrisy, either by their shewing a disgust to the new model of ecclesiastical government, which they had acknowleged; or on the other hand, by declaring, that their former adherence to presbytery and the covenant had been the result of violence and necessity. And as Middleton and the new ministry indulged themselves in great riot and disorder, to which the nation had been little accustomed, an opinion universally prevailed, that any form of religion, offered by such hands, must be profane and impious.

CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

THE people, notwithstanding their discontents, were resolved to give no handle against them, by the least symptom of mutiny or sedition: But this submissive disposition, instead of procuring a mitigation of the rigours, was made use of as an argument for continuing the same measures, which by their vigour had enforced so prompt an obedience. The King, however, was disgusted with the violence of Middleton [p]; and he made Rothes Commissioner in his place. This noble-

[p] Burnet, p. 202.

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

man was already President of the Council; and soon after was made Lord Keeper and Treasurer. Lauderdale still continued Secretary of State, and commonly resided at London.

AFFAIRS remained in a peaceable situation, till the severe law was made in England against conventicles [r]. The Scots parliament imitated that violence, by passing a like act. A kind of high-commission court was appointed, for executing this rigorous law, and for the direction of ecclesiastical affairs. But even this court, illegal as it might be deemed, was much preferable to the method next adopted. Military force was let loose by the council. Wherever the people had generally forsaken their churches, the guards were quartered through the country. Sir James Turner commanded them, a man whose natural ferocity of temper was often inflamed by the use of strong liquors. He went about the country, and received from the ministers lists of those who absented themselves from church, or were supposed to frequent conventicles. Without any proof or legal conviction, he demanded a fine from them, and quartered soldiers on the supposed delinquents till he received payment. As an insurrection was dreaded during the Dutch war, new forces were levied, and intrusted to the command of Dalzeil and Drummond; two officers, who had served the King during the civil wars, and had afterwards retired to Muscovy, where they had increased the native cruelty of their disposition. A full career was given to their tyranny by the Scots ministry. Representations were made to the King against these enormities. He seemed touched with the state of the country; and besides giving orders, that the ecclesiastical commission should be discontinued, he signified his opinion, that another way of proceeding was necessary to his service [s].

[r] 1664. [s] Burnet, p. 213.

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

THIS lenity of the King's came too late to remedy the diſorders. The people, inflamed with bigotry, and irritated by ill uſage, roſe in arms. They were inſtigated by Guthry, Semple, and other preachers. They ſurpriſed Turner in Dumfries, and reſolved to have put him to death; but finding, that his orders, which fell into their hands, were more violent than his execution of them, they ſpared his life. At Laneric, after many prayers, they renewed the covenant, and ſet out their manifeſto; where they profeſſed all ſubmiſſion to the King: They deſired only the reſtoration of preſbytery and of their former miniſters. As many gentlemen of their party had been confined on ſuſpicion; Wallace and Learmont, two officers, who had ſerved, but in no high rank, were entruſted with the command. Their force never exceeded two thouſand men; and though the whole country bore them great favour, men's ſpirits were ſo ſubdued, that the rebels could expect no farther acceſſion of numbers. Dalziel took the field to oppoſe their progreſs. Their number was now diminiſhed to 800; and theſe, having advanced near Edinburgh, attempted to find their way back into the weſt by Pentland Hills. They were attacked by the King's forces [t]. Finding that they could not eſcape, they ſtopped their march. Their miniſters endeavoured to infuſe courage into them. After ſinging ſome pſalms, they turned on the enemy; and being aſſiſted by the advantage of the ground, they received the firſt charge very reſolutely. But that was all the action: Immediately, they loſt order, and fled for their lives. About forty were killed on the ſpot, and a hundred and thirty taken priſoners. The reſt, favoured by the night, and by the wearineſs, and even by the pity of the King's troops, made their eſcape.

[t] 28th of November, 1666.

CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

THE oppreſſions which theſe people had ſuffered, the deluſions under which they laboured, and their inoffenſive behaviour during the inſurrection, made them the objects of compaſſion: Yet were the King's miniſters, particularly Sharpe, reſolute to take ſevere vengeance. Ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh: Thirty-five before their own doors in different places. Theſe criminals might all have ſaved their lives, if they would have renounced the covenant. The executions were going on, when the King put a ſtop to them. He ſaid, that blood enough had already been ſhed; and he wrote a letter, in which he ordered, that ſuch of the priſoners, as ſhould ſimply promiſe to obey the laws for the future, ſhould be ſet at liberty, and that the incorrigible ſhould be ſent to the plantations [u]. This letter was brought by Burnet, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow; but not being immediately delivered to the council by Sharpe, the Preſident [w], one Maccail, had in the interval been put to the torture, under which he expired. He ſeemed to die in a triumph of joy. "Farewel ſun, moon, and ſtars; farewel world and time; "farewel weak and frail body: Welcome eternity, "welcome angels and ſaints, welcome Saviour of the "world, and welcome God, the judge of all!" Such were his laſt words: And theſe animated ſpeeches he uttered with a voice and manner, which ſtruck all the byſtanders with aſtoniſhment.

Affairs of Ireland.

THE ſettlement of Ireland after the reſtoration was a work of much greater difficulty than that of England, or of Scotland. Not only the power, during the former uſurpations, had there been veſted in the King's enemies: The whole property, in a manner, of the kingdom had alſo been changed; and it became neceſſary to redreſs, but with as little violence as poſſible,

[u] Burnet, p. 237. [w] Wodrow's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 255.

many

many grievous hardſhips and iniquities, which were there complained of. CHAP. LXIV.

1668.

THE Iriſh catholics had in 1648 concluded a treaty with Ormond, the King's lieutenant; in which they had ſtipulated pardon for their paſt rebellion, and had engaged under certain conditions to aſſiſt the royal cauſe: And though the violence of the prieſts and the bigotry of the people had prevented, in a great meaſure, the execution of this treaty; yet were there many, who, having ſtrictly, at the hazard of their lives, adhered to it, ſeemed on that account well entitled to reap the fruits of their loyalty. Cromwel, having without diſtinction expelled all the native Iriſh from the three provinces of Munſter, Leinſter, and Ulſter, had confined them to Connaught and the county of Clare; and among thoſe who had thus been forfeited, were many whoſe innocence was altogether unqueſtionable. Several proteſtants likewiſe, and Ormond among the reſt, had all along oppoſed the Iriſh rebellion, yet having afterwards embraced the King's cauſe againſt the parliament, they were all of them forfeited by the Protector. And there were many officers, who had, from the commencement of the inſurrection, ſerved in Ireland, and who, becauſe they would not deſert the King, had been refuſed all their arrears by the Engliſh Commonwealth.

To all theſe unhappy ſufferers ſome juſtice ſeemed to be due: But the difficulty was to find the means of redreſſing ſuch great and extenſive iniquities. Almoſt all the valuable parts of Ireland had been meaſured out and divided, either to the adventurers, who had lent money to the parliament for the ſuppreſſion of the Iriſh rebellion, or to the ſoldiers, who had received land in lieu of their arrears. Theſe could not be diſpoſſeſſed, becauſe they were the moſt powerful and only armed part

CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

of Ireland; becauſe it was requiſite to favour them, in order to ſupport the Engliſh and proteſtant intereſt in that kingdom; and becauſe they had generally, with a ſeeming zeal and alacrity, concurred in the King's reſtoration. The King, therefore, iſſued a proclamation; in which he promiſed to maintain their ſettlement, and at the ſame time engaged to give redreſs to the innocent ſufferers. There was a large quantity of land as yet undivided in Ireland; and from this and ſome other funds, it was thought poſſible for the King to fulfil both theſe engagements.

A COURT OF CLAIMS was erected, conſiſting altogether of Engliſh commiſſioners, who had no connexion with any of the parties, into which Ireland was divided. Before theſe, were laid four thouſand claims of perſons deſiring reſtitution on account of their innocence; and the commiſſioners had found leiſure to examine only ſix hundred. It already appeared, that, if all theſe were to be reſtored, the funds, whence the adventurers and ſoldiers muſt get reprizals, would fall extremely ſhort of giving them any tolerable ſatisfaction. A great alarm and anxiety ſeized all ranks of men: The hopes and fears of every party were excited: Theſe eagerly graſped at recovering their paternal inheritance: Thoſe were reſolute to maintain their new acquiſitions.

THE Duke of Ormond was created Lord-Lieutenant, being the only perſon, whoſe prudence and juſtice could compoſe ſuch jarring intereſts. A parliament was aſſembled at Dublin; and as the Lower Houſe was almoſt entirely choſen by the ſoldiers and adventurers, who ſtill kept poſſeſſion, it was extremely favourable to that intereſt. The Houſe of Peers ſhowed greater impartiality.

AN inſurrection was projected, together with a ſurprizal of the caſtle of Dublin, by ſome of the diſbanded ſoldiers;

soldiers; but this design was happily defeated by the vigilance of Ormond. Some of the criminals were punished. Blood, the most desperate of them, escaped into England. CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

But affairs could not long remain in the confusion and uncertainty, in which they were placed. All parties seemed willing to abate somewhat of their pretensions, in order to attain some stability; and Ormond interposed his authority to that purpose. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquish a third part of their possessions; and as they had purchased their lands at very low prices, they had reason to think themselves extremely favoured by this composition. All the persons, forfeited on account of their adherence to the King, were restored; and some of the innocent Irish. It was a hard situation, that a man was obliged to prove himself innocent, in order to recover possession of the estate, which he and his ancestor had ever enjoyed: But the hardship was augmented, by the difficult conditions annexed to this proof. If the person had ever lived in the quarters of the rebels, he was not admitted to plead his innocence; and he was, for that reason alone, supposed to have been a rebel. The enormous guilt of the Irish nation made men overlook the more willingly any iniquity, which might fall on individuals; and it was considered, that though it be always the interest of all good government to prevent injustice, it is not always possible to remedy it, after it has had a long course, and has been attended with great successes.

Ireland began to attain a state of some composure, when it was disturbed by a very violent act, passed by the English parliament, which prohibited the importation of Irish cattle into England [x]. Ormond remonstrated strongly against this law. He said, that the pre-

[x] In 1666.

sent

CHAP. LXV.

1668.

ſent trade, carried on between England and Ireland, was extremely to the advantage of the former kingdom, which received only proviſions, or rude materials, and ſent back in return every ſpecies of manufacture: That if the cattle of Ireland were prohibited, the inhabitants of that iſland had no other commodity by which they could pay England for their importations, and muſt have recourſe to other nations for a ſupply: That the induſtrious inhabitants of England, if deprived of Iriſh proviſions, which made living cheap, would be obliged to augment the price of labour, and thereby render their manufactures too dear to be exported to foreign markets: That the lazy inhabitants of Ireland, finding proviſions fall almoſt to nothing, would never be induced to labour, but would perpetuate to all generations their native ſloth and barbariſm: That by cutting off almoſt entirely the trade between the kingdoms, all the natural bands of union were diſſolved, and nothing remained to keep the Iriſh in their duty but force and violence: And that by reducing that kingdom to extreme poverty, it would be even rendered incapable of maintaining that military power, by which, during its well grounded diſcontents, it muſt neceſſarily be retained in ſubjection.

THE King was ſo convinced of the juſtneſs of theſe reaſons, that he uſed all his intereſt to oppoſe the bill; and he openly declared, that he could not give his aſſent to it with a ſafe conſcience. But the Commons were reſolute in their purpoſe. Some of the rents of England had fallen of late years, which had been aſcribed entirely to the importation of Iriſh cattle: Several intrigues had contributed to inflame that prejudice, particularly thoſe of Buckingham and Aſhley, who were deſirous of giving Ormond diſturbance in his government: And the ſpirit of tyranny, of which nations are as ſuſceptible as individuals, had animated the Engliſh

extremely

extremely to exert their ſuperiority over their dependant ſtate. No affair could be conducted with greater violence than this was by the Commons. They even went ſo far in the preamble of the bill as to declare the importation of Iriſh cattle to be a *nuiſance*. By this expreſſion, they gave ſcope to their paſſion, and at the ſame time barred the King's prerogative, by which he might think himſelf entitled to diſpenſe with a law, ſo full of injuſtice and bad policy. The Lords expunged the word; but as the King was ſenſible, that no ſupply would be given by the Commons, unleſs they were gratified in all their prejudices, he was obliged both to employ his intereſt with the Peers for making the bill paſs, and to give the royal aſſent to it. He could not, however, forbear expreſſing his diſpleaſure at the jealouſy entertained againſt him, and at the intention, which the Commons diſcovered of retrenching his prerogative.

CHAP. LXIV. 1668.

THIS law brought great diſtreſs for ſome time upon Ireland; but it has occaſioned their applying with greater induſtry to manufactures, and has proved in the iſſue beneficial to that kingdom.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXV.

A Parliament.—The Cabal.—Their characters.—Their councils.—Alliance with France.—A Parliament.—Coventry act.—Blood's crimes.—Duke declares himself Catholic.—Exchequer shut.—Declaration of indulgence.—Attack of the Smyrna fleet.—War declared with Holland.—Weakness of the States.—Battle of Solebay.—Sandwich killed.—Progress of the French.—Consternation of the Dutch.—Prince of Orange Stadtholder.—Massacre of the de Wits.—Good conduct of the Prince.—A Parliament.—Declaration of indulgence recalled.—Sea-fight.—Another sea-fight.—Another sea-fight.—Congress of Cologne.—A Parliament.—Peace with Holland.

CHAP. LXV. 1668.

SINCE the restoration, England was in a condition, which had never been experienced in any former period of her government, and which seemed the only one, that could fully ensure her happiness and her liberty: The King was in continual want of supply from the parliament; and he seemed willing to accommodate himself to that dependent situation. Instead of reviving those claims of prerogative, so strenuously insisted on by his father and grandfather, he had strictly confined himself within the limits of law, and had courted, by every art of popularity, the affections of his subjects. Even the severities, however blameable, which he had been forced to exercise against nonconformists, are to be considered as expedients, by which he strove to ingratiate himself with that party, which predominated

nated in parliament. But notwithſtanding theſe promiſing appearances, there were many circumſtances, which kept the government from reſting ſteddily on that bottom, on which it was placed. The crown having loſt almoſt all its antient demeſnes, relied entirely on voluntary grants of the people; and the Commons, not fully accuſtomed to this new ſituation, were not diſpoſed to ſupply with ſufficient liberality the neceſſities of the crown. They imitated too ſtrictly the example of their predeceſſors in a rigid frugality of public money; and neither ſufficiently conſidered the indigent ſituation of the Prince, nor the general ſtate of Europe, where every nation, by its increaſe both of magnificence and force, had made great additions to all public expences. Some conſiderable ſums, indeed, were beſtowed on Charles, and the patriots of that age, tenacious of antient maxims, loudly upbraided the Commons with prodigality: But if we may judge by the example of a later period, when the government has become more regular, and the harmony of its parts has been more happily adjuſted, the parliaments of this reign ſeem rather to have merited a contrary reproach.

THE natural conſequence of the poverty of the crown was, beſides feeble irregular tranſactions in foreign affairs, a continual uncertainty in its domeſtic adminiſtration. No one could anſwer with any tolerable aſſurance for the meaſures of the Houſe of Commons. Few of the members were attached to the court by any other band than that of inclination. Royaliſts indeed in their principles, but unexperienced in buſineſs, they lay expoſed to every rumour or inſinuation; and were driven by momentary guſts or currents, no leſs than the populace themſelves. Even the attempts made to gain an aſcendant over them, by offices, and, as 'tis believed, by bribes and penſions, were apt to operate in a manner contrary to what was intended by the

CHAP. LXV. 1668.

the miniſters. The novelty of the practice conveyed a general, and indeed a juſt, alarm; while at the ſame time, the poverty of the crown rendered this influence very limited and precarious.

THE character of Charles was ill fitted to remedy thoſe defects in the conſtitution. He acted in the adminiſtration of public affairs, as if government were a paſtime, rather than a ſerious occupation; and by the uncertainty of his conduct, he loſt that authority, which could alone beſtow conſtancy on the fluctuating reſolutions of the parliament. His expences too, which always exceeded the proper bounds, were directed more by inclination than by policy; and while they rendered him continually dependant on the parliament, they were not calculated ſo as fully to ſatisfy either the intereſted or diſintereſted part of that aſſembly.

8th of February. A parliament.

THE parliament met after a long adjournment; and the King promiſed himſelf every thing from the attachment of the Commons. All his late meaſures had been calculated to acquire the good will of his people; and above all, the triple league, it was hoped, would be able to efface all the impreſſions left by the unhappy concluſion of the Dutch war. But a new attempt made by the court, and a very laudable one too, loſt him, for a time, the effect of all theſe endeavours. Buckingham, who was in great favour with the King, and carried on many intrigues among the Commons, had alſo endeavoured to ſupport connexions with the nonconformiſts; and he now formed a ſcheme, together with the Lord Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and Sir Mathew Hale, Chief Juſtice, two worthy patriots, to put an end to thoſe ſeverities, under which theſe religioniſts had ſo long laboured. It was propoſed to reconcile the preſbyterians by a comprehenſion, and to grant a toleration to the independants and other ſectaries. Favour ſeems not, by this ſcheme, as by others embraced

braced during the preſent reign, to have been intended the catholics: Yet were the zealous Commons ſo diſguſted, that they could not be prevailed on even to give the King thanks for the triple league, however laudable that meaſure was then, and has ever ſince been eſteemed. They immediately voted an addreſs for a proclamation againſt conventicles. Their requeſt was complied with; but as the King ſtill dropped ſome hints of his deſire to reconcile his proteſtant ſubjects, the Commons paſſed a very unuſual vote, that no man ſhould bring into the Houſe any bill of that nature. The King in vain re-iterated his ſollicitations for ſupply, repreſented the neceſſity of equipping a fleet, and even offered, that the money which they ſhould grant, ſhould be collected and iſſued for that purpoſe by commiſſioners appointed by the Houſe. Inſtead of compliance, the Commons voted an enquiry into all the miſcarriages during the late war; the ſlackening ſail after the Duke's victory from falſe orders delivered by Brounker, the miſcarriage at Berghen, the diviſion of the fleet under Prince Rupert and Albemarle, the diſgrace at Chatham. Brounker was expelled the Houſe, and ordered to be impeached. Commiſſioner Pet, who had neglected orders for the ſecurity of Chatham, met with the ſame fate. Theſe impeachments were never proſecuted. The Houſe at laſt, having been indulged in all their prejudices, were prevailed with to vote the King three hundred and ten thouſand pounds, by an impoſition on wine and other liquors; after which they were adjourned.

CHAP. LXV. 1668.

Public buſineſs, beſides being retarded by the diſguſt of the Commons againſt the tolerating maxims of the court, received obſtructions this ſeſſion from a quarrel between the two Houſes. Skinner, a rich merchant in London, having met with ſome injuries from the Eaſt India Company, laid the matter by petition before the Houſe

11th of May.

CHAP. LXV.

1668. of Lords, by whom he was relieved in coſts and damages to the amount of five thouſand pounds. The Commons voted, that the Lords, in taking cognizance of this affair, originally, without any appeal from inferior courts, had acted in a manner not agreeable to the laws of the land, and tending to deprive the ſubject of the right, eaſe, and benefit, due to him by theſe laws; and that Skinner, in proſecuting the ſuit, had infringed the privileges of the Commons: For which offence, they ordered him to be taken into the cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms. Some conferences enſued between the Houſes; where the Lords were tenacious of their right of judicature, and maintained, that the method, in which they had exerciſed it was quite regular. The Commons roſe into a great ferment; and went ſo far as to vote, that "whoever ſhould be aiding or aſſiſting in "putting in execution the order or ſentence of the "Houſe of Lords, in the caſe of Skinner againſt the "Eaſt India Company, ſhall be deemed a betrayer of "the rights and liberties of the Commons of England, "and an infringer of the privileges of the Houſe of "Commons." They rightly judged, that it would not be eaſy, after this vote, to find any one, who would venture on their indignation. The proceedings indeed of the Lords ſeem in this caſe to have been unuſual and without precedent.

1669. 19th of October. THE King's neceſſities obliged him again to aſſemble the parliament, who ſhowed ſome diſpoſition to relieve him. The price, however, which he muſt pay for this indulgence, was his yielding to laws againſt conventicles. His compliaſance in this particular contributed more to gain the Commons, than all the pompous pretences of ſupporting the triple alliance, that popular meaſure, by which he expected to make ſuch advantage. The quarrel between the two Houſes was revived; and as the Commons

Commons had voted only four hundred thouſand pounds, with which the King was not ſatisfied, he thought proper, before they had carried their vote into a law, to prorogue them. The only buſineſs finiſhed this ſhort ſeſſion was the receiving the report of the committee appointed for examining the public accounts. On the firſt inſpection of this report, there appears a vaſt ſum, no leſs than a million and a half, unaccounted for; and the natural inference is, that the King had very much abuſed the truſt repoſed in him by parliament. But a more accurate inſpection of particulars ſerves, in a great meaſure, to remove this imputation. The King indeed went ſo far as to tell the parliament from the throne, "That he had fully informed himſelf of that matter, "and did affirm, that no part of thoſe monies, which "they had given him, had been diverted to other uſes, "but on the contrary, beſides all thoſe ſupplies, a very "great ſum had been raiſed out of his ſtanding reve- "nue and credit, and a very great debt contracted; "and all for the war." Though artificial pretences have often been employed by Kings in their ſpeeches to parliament, and by none more than Charles, it is ſomewhat difficult to ſuſpect him of a direct lie and falſhood. He muſt have had ſome reaſons, and perhaps not unplauſible ones, for this affirmation, of which all his hearers, as they had the accounts lying before them, were at that time very competent judges [y].

CHAP. LXV. 1669. 11th of December,

THE

[y] The abſtract of the report of the Brook-houſe committee (ſo that committee was called) was firſt publiſhed by Mr. Ralph, vol. i. p. 177, from Lord Halliſax's Collections, to which I refer. If we peruſe their apology, which we find in the ſubſequent page of the ſame author, we ſhall find, that they acted with ſome malignity towards the King. They would take notice of no ſervices performed before the 1ſt of September, 1664. But all the King's preparations preceded that date, and, as Chancellor Clarendon told the parliament, amounted to eight hundred thouſand pounds; and the computation is very probable. This ſum, therefore, muſt be added. The committee likewiſe charged ſeven hundred thouſand pounds to the King on account

CHAP. LXV.

1669. THE method which all parliaments had hitherto followed, was to vote a particular ſum for the ſupply, without any diſtinction or appropriation for particular ſervices. So long as the demands of the crown were only ſmall and caſual, no great inconveniencies aroſe from this practice. But as all the meaſures of government were now changed, it muſt be confeſſed, that, if the King made a juſt application of public money, this inaccurate method of proceeding, by expoſing him to ſuſpicions, was very prejudicial to him. If he was inclined to act otherwiſe, it was equally hurtful to the people. For theſe reaſons, a contrary practice, during all the late reigns, has conſtantly been followed by the Commons.

1670. 14th of February. WHEN the parliament met after the prorogation, they entered anew upon the buſineſs of the ſupply, and granted the King an additional duty, during eight years, of twelve pounds on each tun of Spaniſh wine, eight on each tun of French. A law was alſo paſſed empowering him to ſell the fee farm rents; the laſt remains of the demeſnes by which the antient Kings of England had been ſupported. By this expedient he obtained ſome ſupply for his preſent neceſſities, but left the crown, if poſſible, ſtill more dependant than before. How much money might be raiſed by theſe ſales is uncertain; but it could not be near one million eight hundred thouſand pounds, the ſum aſſigned by ſome writers [z].

count of the winter and ſummer guards, ſaved during two years and ten months that the war laſted. But this ſeems inquitous. For though that was an uſual burthen on the revenue, which was then ſaved; would not the diminution of the cuſtoms during the war be an equivalent to it? Beſides, near three hundred and forty thouſand pounds are charged for prize-money, which perhaps the King thought he ought not to account for. Theſe ſums exceed the million and a half.

[z] Mrs Carte, in his Vindication of the Anſwer to the Byſtander, p. 99, ſays, that the ſale of the fee farm rents would not yield above one hundred thouſand pounds; and his reaſons appear well founded.

THE

CHAP. LXV.

1670.

THE act againſt conventicles paſſed, and received the royal aſſent. It bears the appearance of mitigating the former perſecuting laws; but if we may judge by the ſpirit, which had broke out almoſt every ſeſſion during this parliament, it was not intended as any favour to the nonconformiſts. 'Twas probably found by experience, that laws over rigid and ſevere could not be executed. By this act the hearer in a conventicle, (that is, in a diſſenting aſſembly, where more than five were preſent, beſides the family) was fined five ſhillings for the firſt offence, ten for the ſecond; the preacher twenty pounds for the firſt offence; forty for the ſecond. The perſon, in whoſe houſe the conventicle met, forfeited a like ſum with the preacher. One clauſe is very remarkable; that, if any diſpute ſhould ariſe with regard to the interpretation of any part of the act, the Judges ſhould always explain the doubt in the ſenſe leaſt favourable to conventicles, it being the intention of the parliament entirely to ſuppreſs them. Such was the zeal of the Commons, that they violated the plaineſt and moſt eſtabliſhed maxims of civil policy, which require, that, in all criminal proſecutions, favour ſhould always be given to the priſoner.

THE affair of Skinner ſtill remained a ground of quarrel between the two Houſes; but the King prevailed with the Peers to accept of the expedient propoſed by the Commons, that a general razure ſhould be made of all the tranſactions with regard to that diſputed queſtion.

SOME attempts were made by the King to effectuate a union between England and Scotland: But they were too feeble to remove all the difficulties, which obſtructed that uſeful and important undertaking. Commiſſioners were appointed to meet, in order to regulate the conditions: But the deſign, chiefly by the intrigues of Lauderdale, ſoon after came to nothing.

CHAP. LXV.

1670.

THE KING, about this time, began frequently to attend the debates of the House of Peers. He said, that they amused him, and that he found them no less entertaining than a play. But deeper designs were suspected. As he seemed to interest himself extremely in the cause of Lord Roos, who had obtained a divorce from his wife on the accusation of adultery, and applied to parliament for leave to marry again; people imagined, that Charles proposed to make a precedent of the case, and that some other pretence would be found for getting rid of the Queen. Many proposals to this purpose, it is said, were made him by Buckingham: But the King, however little scrupulous in some respects, was incapable of any action harsh or barbarous; and he always rejected with horror all schemes of this nature. A suspicion however of such intentions, it was observed, had, at this time, begot a coldness between the two royal brothers.

WE now come to a period, when the King's councils, which had hitherto, in the main, been good, tho' negligent and fluctuating, became, during some time, remarkably bad, or even criminal; and breeding incurable jealousies in all men, were followed by such consequences as had almost terminated in the ruin both of Prince and people. Happily the same negligence still attended him, and, as it had lessened the influence of the good, it also diminished the effect of the bad measures, which he embraced.

IT was remarked, that the committee of council, established for foreign affairs, was entirely changed; and that Prince Rupert, the Duke of Ormond, Secretary Trevor, and Lord Keeper Bridgeman, men in whose honour the nation had great confidence, were never called to any deliberations. The whole secret was entrusted to five persons, Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham,

ingham, Arlington, Lauderdale. Theſe men were known by the appellation of the Cabal, a word which the initial letters of their names happened to compoſe. Never was there a more dangerous miniſtry in England, nor one more noted for pernicious councils.

CHAP. LXV.

1670. The Cabal.

Their characters.

Lord Ashley, ſoon after known by the name of Earl of Shafteſbury, was one of the moſt remarkable characters of the age, and the chief ſpring of all the ſucceeding movements. During his early youth, he had engaged in the late King's party; but being diſguſted with ſome meaſures of Prince Maurice, he ſoon deſerted to the parliament. He inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of Cromwel; and as he had great influence on the preſbyterians, he was ſerviceable in ſupporting the authority of that uſurper. He employed the ſame credit to promote the reſtoration; and on that account both deſerved and acquired great favour with the King. In all his changes, he ſtill maintained the character of never betraying thoſe friends whom he deſerted; and which ever party he joined, his great capacity and ſingular talents ſoon gained him their confidence, and enabled him to take the lead among them. No ſtation could ſatisfy his ambition, no fatigues were inſuperable to his induſtry. Well-acquainted with the blind attachment of parties, he ſurmounted all ſenſe of ſhame: And relying on the ſubtilty of his contrivances, he was not ſtartled with enterprizes, the moſt hazardous and moſt criminal. His talents, both of public ſpeaking and private inſinuation, ſhone out in an eminent degree; and amidſt all his furious paſſions, he poſſeſſed a ſound judgment of buſineſs, and ſtill more of men. Though fitted by nature for beginning and puſhing the greateſt undertakings, he was never able to conduct any to a happy period; and his eminent abilities, by reaſon of his inſatiable deſires, were equally dangerous to himſelf, to the Prince, and to the people

CHAP. LXV.

1670.

THE Duke of Buckingham poſſeſſed all the advantages, which a graceful perſon, a high rank, a ſplendid fortune, and a lively wit could beſtow; but by his wild conduct, unreſtrained either by prudence or principle, he found means to render himſelf in the end odious and even inſignificant. The leaſt intereſt could make him abandon his honour; the ſmalleſt pleaſure could ſeduce him from his intereſt; the moſt frivolous caprice was ſufficient to counterballance his pleaſure. By the want of ſecrecy and conſtancy, he deſtroyed his character in public life; by the contempt of order and œconomy, he diſſipated his private fortune; by riot and debauchery, he ruined his health; and he remained at laſt as incapable of doing hurt, as he had ever been little deſirous of doing good, to mankind.

THE Earl, ſoon after created Duke, of Lauderdale, was not defective in natural, and ſtill leſs in acquired, talents; but neither was his addreſs graceful, nor his underſtanding juſt. His principles, or, more properly ſpeaking, his prejudices, were obſtinate, but unable to reſtrain his ambition: His ambition was ſtill leſs dangerous than the tyranny and violence of his temper. An implacable enemy, but a lukewarm friend; inſolent to his inferiors, but abject to his ſuperiors; though in his whole character and deportment, he was almoſt diametrically oppoſite to the King, he had the fortune, beyond any other miniſter, to maintain, during the greateſt part of his reign, an aſcendant over him.

THE talents of parliamentary eloquence and intrigue had raiſed Sir Thomas Clifford; and his daring impetuous ſpirit gave him weight in the King's councils. Of the whole Cabal, Arlington was the leaſt dangerous either by his vices or his talents. His judgment was ſound, though his capacity was but moderate; and his intentions were good, though he wanted courage and integrity

integrity to perſevere in them. Together with Temple and Bridgeman, he had been a great promoter of the triple league; but he threw himſelf with equal alacrity into oppoſite meaſures, when he found them agreeable to his maſter. Clifford and he were ſecretly catholics: Shafteſbury, though addicted to aſtrology, was reckoned a deiſt: Buckingham had too little reflection to embrace any ſteady principles: Lauderdale had long been a bigotted and furious preſbyterian; and the opinions of that ſect ſtill kept poſſeſſion of his mind, however little they appeared in his conduct. CHAP. LXV. 1670.

THE dark councils of the Cabal, though from the firſt they gave anxiety to all men of reflection, were not thoroughly known but by the event. Such ſeem to have been the views, which they ſuggeſted to the King and the Duke, and which theſe Princes too greedily embraced. They ſaid, that the parliament, though the ſpirit of party, for the preſent, attached them to the crown, were ſtill more attached to thoſe powers and privileges, which their predeceſſors had uſurped from the Sovereign: That after the firſt flow of kindneſs, they had diſcovered ſymptoms of diſcontent; and would be ſure to turn againſt the King all the authority which they yet retained, and ſtill more thoſe pretenſions which it was eaſy for them in a moment to revive: That they not only kept the King in dependance by means of his precarious revenue, but had never diſcovered a ſuitable generoſity, even in thoſe temporary ſupplies, which they granted him: That it was time for the Prince to rouze himſelf from his lethargy, and to recover that authority, which his predeceſſors, during ſo many ages, had peaceably enjoyed: That the great error or misfortune of his father was the not having formed any cloſe connexion with foreign Princes, who, on the breaking out of the rebellion, might have found their intereſt in ſupporting him: Their councils.

CHAP. LXV. 1670.

That the preſent alliances, being entered into with ſo many weaker potentates, who themſelves ſtood in need of the King's protection, could never ſerve to maintain, much leſs augment, the royal authority: That the French monarch alone, ſo generous a Prince, and by blood ſo nearly allied to the King, would be found both able and willing, if gratified in his ambition, to defend the common cauſe of Kings againſt uſurping ſubjects: That a war, undertaken againſt Holland by the united force of two ſuch mighty potentates, would prove an eaſy enterprize, and would ſerve all the purpoſes which were aimed at: That under pretence of that war, it would not be difficult to levy a military force, without which, during the prevalence of republican principles among his ſubjects, the King would vainly expect to defend his prerogative: That his naval power might be maintained, partly by the ſupplies, which, on other pretences, would previouſly be obtained from parliament; partly by ſubſidies from France; partly by captures, which might eaſily be made on that opulent republic: That in ſuch a ſituation, attempts to recover the loſt authority of the crown would be attended with ſucceſs; nor would any malecontents dare to reſiſt a Prince, fortified by ſo powerful an alliance; or if they did, they would only draw more certain ruin on themſelves and on their cauſe: And that by ſubduing the States, a great ſtep would be taken towards advancing a reformation of the government; ſince it was apparent, that that republic, by its fame and grandeur, fortified, in his factious ſubjects, their attachment to what they vainly called their civil and religious liberties.

THESE ſuggeſtions happened fatally to concur with all the inclinations and prejudices of the King; his deſire of more extenſive authority, his propenſity to the catholic religion, his avidity for money. He ſeems likewiſe, from the very beginning of his reign, to have entertained

entertained great jealouſy of his own ſubjects, and, on that account, a deſire of fortifying himſelf by an intimate alliance with France. So early as 1664, he had offered the French monarch to allow him without oppoſition to conquer Flanders, provided that Prince would engage to furniſh him with ten thouſand infantry, and a ſuitable number of cavalry, in caſe of any rebellion in England [a]. As no dangerous ſymptoms at that time diſcovered themſelves, we are left to conjecture, from this incident, what opinion Charles had conceived of the factious diſpoſition of his people.

CHAP. LXV. 1670.

Even during the time, when the triple alliance was moſt zealouſly cultivated, the King never ſeems to have been entirely cordial in thoſe ſalutary meaſures, but ſtill to have caſt a longing eye towards the French alliance. Clifford, who had much of his confidence, ſaid imprudently, "Notwithſtanding all this joy, we "muſt have a ſecond war with Holland." The acceſſion of the Emperor to that alliance had been refuſed by England on very frivolous pretences. And many unfriendly cavils were raiſed againſt the States with regard to Surinam and the conduct of the Eaſt India Company. But about April 1669, the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms appeared of thoſe fatal meaſures, which were afterwards more openly purſued.

De Wit, at that time, came to Temple; and told him, that he payed him a viſit as a friend, not as a miniſter. The occaſion was to acquaint him with a converſation which he had lately had with Puffendorf, the Swediſh agent, who had paſſed by the Hague in the way from Paris to his own country. The French miniſters, Puffendorf ſaid, had taken much pains to perſuade him, that the Swedes would find their account very ill in thoſe meaſures, which they had lately embraced: That Spain would fail them in all her promiſes of ſub-

[a] D'Eſtrades, 21ſt of July, 1667.

ſides;

CHAP. LXV.

1670.

ſidies; nor would Holland alone be able to ſupport them: That England would certainly fail them, and had already adopted councils directly oppoſite to thoſe which by the triple league ſhe had bound herſelf to purſue: And that the reſolution was not the leſs fixed and certain, that the ſecret was as yet communicated to very few either in the French or Engliſh court. When Puffendorf ſeemed incredulous, Turenne ſhowed him a letter from Colbert de Croiſſy, the French miniſter at London; where, after mentioning the ſucceſs of his negotiations, and the favourable diſpoſition of the chief miniſters there, he added, "And I have at laſt made "them ſenſible of the whole extent of his Majeſty's "bounty[b]." From this incident it appears, that the infamous practice of ſelling themſelves to foreign Princes, a practice, which, notwithſtanding the malignity of the vulgar, is certainly very rare among men in high office, had not been ſcrupled by Charles's miniſters.

BUT the King's reſolutions ſeem never to have been entirely fixed, till the viſit which he received from his ſiſter, the Dutcheſs of Orleans. Lewis, knowing the addreſs and inſinuation of that amiable Princeſs, and the great influence which ſhe had obtained over her brother, had engaged her to employ all her good offices, in order to detach England from the triple league, which, he knew, had fixed ſuch an unſurmountable barrier to his ambition. That he might the better cover this negotiation, he pretended to viſit his frontiers, particularly the great works which he had undertaken at Dunkirk; and he carried the Queen and the whole court along with him. While he remained on the oppoſite ſhore, the Dutcheſs of Orleans went over into England; and Charles met her at Dover, where they paſſed ten days together in great mirth and feſtivity. By her artifices

26th of May

[b] Temple, vol. ii. p. 179.

and

and careſſes, ſhe prevailed on Charles to relinquiſh the moſt ſettled maxims of honour and policy, and to finiſh his engagements with Lewis for the deſtruction of Holland. No particular articles ſeem here to have been ſigned, or even agreed upon. Neither of the Princes had the leaſt claims on that republic; and they could therefore regulate their pretenſions only by the future ſucceſs of their arms. And as to the ſcheme, which Charles is with ſo good reaſon ſuppoſed to have entertained, of employing the French power, or at leaſt the terror of it, for enlarging his authority at home; it was of ſuch a nature as muſt depend upon incidents, and, for the preſent, it ſufficed, if he conjoined his intereſts intimately with France, and obtained general aſſurances of ſupport, in caſe of any oppoſition or inſurrection.

CHAP. LXV. 1670.

Alliance with France.

But Lewis well knew Charles's character, and the uſual fluctuation of his councils. In order to fix him in the French intereſts, he reſolved to bind him by the tyes of pleaſure, the only ones which with him were irreſiſtible; and he made him a preſent of a French miſtreſs, by whoſe means he hoped, for the future, to govern him. The Dutcheſs of Orleans brought with her a young lady of the name of Queroüaille, whom the King carried to London, and ſoon after created Dutcheſs of Portſmouth. He was extremely attached to her during the whole courſe of his life; and ſhe proved a great means of ſupporting his connections with her native country. 'Tis impoſſible but his quick diſcernment muſt have perceived the ſcope of all theſe artifices; but he was too much a ſlave to pleaſure, ever to defend himſelf againſt its preſent allurements.

The ſatisfaction which Charles reaped from his new alliance, received a great check by the death of his ſiſter, and ſtill more by thoſe melancholy circumſtances which

CHAP. LXV.

1670.

which attended it. Her death was ſudden, after a few days illneſs; and ſhe was ſeized with the malady upon drinking a glaſs of ſuccory-water. Strong ſuſpicions of poiſon aroſe in the court of France, and ſpread all over Europe; and as her huſband had diſcovered many ſymptoms of jealouſy and diſcontent on account of her conduct, he was univerſally believed to be the author of that crime. Charles himſelf, during ſome time, was entirely convinced of his guilt; but upon receiving the atteſtation of phyſicians, who, on opening her body, found no foundation for the general rumour, he was, or pretended to be ſatisfied. The Duke of Orleans indeed did never, in any other circumſtance of his life, betray ſuch diſpoſitions as might lead him to ſo criminal an action; and a lady, it is ſaid, drank the remains of the ſame glaſs, without feeling any inconvenience. The ſudden death of Princes is commonly accompanied with theſe diſmal ſurmiſes; and therefore leſs weight is in this caſe to be laid on the ſuſpicions of the public.

CHARLES, inſtead of breaking with France upon this incident, took advantage of it to ſend over Buckingham, under pretence of condoling with the Duke of Orleans, but in reality to concert farther meaſures for the projected war. Never ambaſſador received greater careſſes. The more deſtructive the preſent meaſures were to the intereſts of England, the more natural was it for Lewis to load with civilities, and even with favours, thoſe whom he could engage to promote them.

THE journey of Buckingham raiſed ſtrong ſuſpicions in Holland, which every circumſtance tended ſtill farther to confirm. Lewis made a ſudden irruption into Lorraine; and though he miſſed ſeizing the Duke himſelf, who had no ſurmiſe of the danger, and who very narrowly eſcaped, he was ſoon able, without reſiſtance, to make himſelf maſter of the whole country. The French monarch

monarch was so far unhappy, that, though the most tempting opportunities offered themselves, he had not commonly so much as the pretence of equity and justice to cover his ambitious measures. This acquisition of Lorraine ought to have excited the jealousy of the contracting powers in the triple league, as much as an invasion of Flanders itself; yet did Charles turn a deaf ear to all remonstrances which were made him upon that subject. 1670.

But what tended chiefly to open the eyes of de Wit and the States, with regard to the measures of England, was the sudden recal of Sir William Temple. That minister had so firmly established his character of honour and integrity, that he was believed incapable even of obeying his master's commands, in promoting measures which he esteemed pernicious to his country; and so long as he remained in employment, de Wit thought himself assured of the fidelity of England. Charles was so sensible of this prepossession, that he ordered Temple to leave his family at the Hague, and pretended that that minister would immediately return, after having conferred with the King about some business, where his negotiation had met with obstructions. De Wit made the Dutch resident inform the English court, that he would consider the recal of Temple as an express declaration of a change of measures in England; and would even know what interpretation to put upon any delay of his return.

While these measures were secretly in agitation, the parliament met, according to adjournment. The King made a very short speech, and left the business to be enlarged upon by the keeper. That minister insisted much on the King's great want of supply; the mighty increase of the naval power of France, now triple to what it was before the last war with Holland; the decay

24th of October. A parliament

CHAP. LXV.

1670.

cay of the Engliſh navy; the neceſſity of fitting out next year a fleet of fifty ſail; the obligations which the King lay under by ſeveral treaties to exert himſelf for the common good of chriſtendom. Among other treaties, he mentioned the triple alliance, and the defenſive league with the ſtates. It is certain, that Bridgeman, though he was not admitted into the ſecrets of the cabal, muſt have obſerved ſo many grounds of ſuſpicion, as ſhould have kept him from giving ſanction to that deceit, which was intended to be put upon the parliament.

THE artifice ſucceeded. The Houſe of Commons, entirely ſatisfied with the King's meaſures, voted him conſiderable ſupplies. A land tax for a year was impoſed of a ſhilling a pound; two ſhillings a pound on two thirds of the ſalaries of offices; fifteen ſhillings on every hundred pound of bankers' money and ſtock; an additional exciſe upon beer for ſix years, and certain impoſitions upon law proceedings for nine years. The parliament had never before been in a more liberal diſpoſition; and never ſurely was it leſs merited by the councils of the King and of his miniſters.

THE Commons paſſed another bill for laying a duty on tobacco, Scots ſalt, glaſſes, and ſome other commodities. Againſt this bill the merchants of London appeared by petition before the Houſe of Lords. The Lords entered into their reaſons, and began to make amendments on the bill ſent up by the Commons. This attempt was highly reſented by the lower houſe, as an encroachment on the right, which they pretended to poſſeſs alone, of granting money to the crown. Many remonſtrances paſſed between the two houſes; and by their altercations the King was obliged to prorogue the parliament; and he thereby loſt the money which was intended him. This is the laſt time that the Peers have revived

1671. 22d of April.

revived any pretenſions of that nature. Ever ſince, the privilege of the Commons, in all other places, except the Houſe of Peers, has paſſed for undiſputed. CHAP. LXV. 1671.

THERE was a private affair, which during this ſeſſion diſguſted the Houſe of Commons, and required ſome pains to accommodate it. The uſual method of thoſe who oppoſed the court in the money bills, was, if they failed in the main vote, as to the extent of the ſupply, to levy the money from ſuch funds as they expected would be unacceptable, or would prove deficient. It was propoſed to lay an impoſition upon playhouſes: The courtiers objected, that the players were the King's ſervants, and a part of his pleaſure. Sir John Coventry, a gentleman of the country party, aſked, "whether the "King's pleaſure lay among the male or the female "players?" This ſtroke of ſatire was aimed at Charles, who, beſides his miſtreſſes of higher quality, entertained at that time two actreſſes, Davis and Nell Gwin. The King received not the raillery with that good humour which might have been expected. It was ſaid, that this being the firſt time, when reſpect to Majeſty had been publicly violated, it was neceſſary, by ſome ſevere chaſtiſement, to make Coventry an example to all who might incline to tread in his footſteps. Sands, Obrian, and ſome others of the guards, were ordered to way-lay him, and to ſet a mark upon him. He defended himſelf with great bravery, and after wounding ſeveral of the aſſailants, was with ſome difficulty diſarmed. They cut his noſe to the bone, in order, as they ſaid, to teach him what reſpect he owed to the King. The Commons were enflamed by this indignity offered to one of their members, on account of words ſpoke in the houſe. They paſſed a law, where they made it capital to maim any perſon; and they enacted, that thoſe criminals who had aſſaulted Coventry act

CHAP. LXV.

Coventry, ſhould be incapable of receiving a pardon from the crown.

1671.

THERE was another private affair tranſacted about this time, by which the King was as much expoſed to the imputation of a capricious lenity, as he was here blamed for unneceſſary ſeverity. Blood, a diſbanded officer of the Protector, had been engaged in the conſpiracy for raiſing an inſurrection in Ireland; and for this crime he himſelf had been attainted, and ſome of his accomplices capitally puniſhed. The daring villain meditated a revenge upon Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant. Having by artifice drawn off the Duke's footmen, he attacked his coach in the night, as he drove along St. James's ſtreet in London, and made himſelf maſter of his perſon. He might here have finiſhed the crime, had he not meditated refinements in his vengeance: He was reſolved to hang the Duke at Tyburn; and for that purpoſe bound him, and mounted him on horſeback behind one of his companions. They were advanced a good way into the fields; when the Duke, making efforts for his liberty, threw himſelf to the ground, and brought down with him the aſſaſſin to whom he was tied. They were ſtruggling together in the mud; when Ormond's ſervants, whom the alarm had reached, came and ſaved him. Blood and his companions, firing their piſtols in a hurry at the Duke, rode off and ſaved themſelves by means of the darkneſs.

Blood's crimes.

BUCKINGHAM was at firſt, with ſome appearance of reaſon, ſuſpected to be the author of the attempt. His profligate character, and his enmity againſt Ormond, expoſed him to this imputation. Oſſory ſoon after came to court, and ſeeing Buckingham ſtand by the King, his colour roſe, and he could not forbear expreſſing himſelf to this purpoſe. "My Lord, I know well, "that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon "my

CHAP. LXV. 1671.

" my father: but I give you warning, if by any means " he comes to a violent end, I ſhall not be at a loſs to " know the author: I ſhall conſider you as the aſſaſſin: " I ſhall treat you as ſuch; and wherever I meet you, " I ſhall piſtol you, though you ſtood behind the King's " chair; and I tell it you in his Majeſty's preſence, " that you may be ſure I ſhall not fail of perform- " ance[c]." If there was here any indecorum, it was eaſily excuſed in a generous youth, when his father's life was expoſed to danger.

A LITTLE after, Blood formed a deſign of carrying off the crown and regalia from the tower; a deſign, to which he was prompted, as well by the ſurpriſing boldneſs of the enterprize, as by the views of profit. He was very near ſucceeding. He had bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office, and had got out of the Tower with his prey, but was overtaken and ſeized, with ſome of his aſſociates. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond; and Blood was immediately concluded to be the ringleader. When aſked, he frankly avowed the enterprize; but refuſed to tell his accomplices. " The " fear of death," he ſaid, " would never engage him, " either to deny a guilt, or betray a friend." All theſe extraordinary circumſtances made him the general ſubject of converſation; and the King was moved by an idle curioſity to ſee and ſpeak with a perſon ſo noted for his courage and his crimes. Blood might now eſteem himſelf ſecure of pardon, and he wanted not addreſs to improve the opportunity. He told Charles, that he had been engaged, with others, in a deſign to kill him with a carabine above Batterſea, where his Majeſty often went to bathe: That the cauſe of this reſolution was the ſeverity exerciſed over the conſciences of the godly,

[c] Carte's Ormond, vol. ii. p. 225.

CHAP. LXV. 1671.

in reſtraining the liberty of their religious aſſemblies: That when he had taken his ſtand among the reeds, full of theſe bloody reſolutions, he found his heart checked with an awe of Majeſty; and not only relented himſelf, but diverted his aſſociates from their purpoſe: That he had long ago brought himſelf to an entire indifference about life, which he now gave for loſt; yet could he not forbear warning the King of the danger which might attend his execution: That his aſſociates had bound themſelves together by the ſtricteſt oaths to revenge the death of any of their confederacy: And that no precaution nor power could ſecure any one from the effects of their deſperate reſolutions.

Whether theſe conſiderations excited fear or admiration in the King, they confirmed his reſolution of granting a pardon to Blood; but he thought it a requiſite point of decency firſt to obtain the Duke of Ormond's conſent. Arlington came to Ormond in the King's name, and deſired that he would not proſecute Blood, for reaſons which he was commanded to give him. The Duke gallantly replied, that his Majeſty's commands were the only reaſon, that could be given, and being ſufficient, he might therefore ſpare the reſt. Charles carried his kindneſs to Blood ſtill farther: He granted him an eſtate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland; he encouraged his attendance about his perſon; he ſhowed him great countenance, and many applied to him for promoting their pretenſions at court. And while old Edwards, who had bravely ventured his life, and had been wounded, in defending the crown and regalia, was forgotten and neglected, this man, who deſerved only to be ſtared at, and deteſted as a monſter, became a kind of favourite.

Errors of this nature in private life, have often as bad an influence as miſcarriages, in which the public is more

more immediately concerned. Another incident happened this year, which infuſed a very general diſpleaſure, and ſtill greater apprehenſions, into all men. The Dutcheſs of York died, and in her laſt ſickneſs, ſhe made open profeſſion of the Romiſh religion, and finiſhed her life in that communion. This put an end to that thin diſguiſe, which the Duke had hitherto worne; and he now openly declared his attachment to the church of Rome. Unaccountable terrors of popery, ever ſince the acceſſion of the houſe of Stuart, had prevailed throughout the nation; but theſe had formerly been found ſo groundleſs, and had been employed to ſo many bad purpoſes, that ſurmiſes of this nature were likely to meet with the leſs credit from all men of ſenſe; and nothing but the Duke's imprudent bigotry could have convinced the whole nation of his converſion. Popery, which had hitherto been only a hideous ſpectre, was now become a real ground of terror, being openly and zealouſly embraced by the heir apparent to the crown, a Prince of induſtry and enterprize; while the King himſelf was not entirely free from like ſuſpicions.

CHAP. LXV. 1671.

Duke declares himſelf catholic.

It is probable, that the new alliance of France inſpired the Duke with courage to make open profeſſion of his religion, and rendered him more careleſs of the affections and eſteem of the Engliſh. This alliance became every day more viſible to all the world. Temple was declared to be no longer Ambaſſador to the States; and Downing, whom the Dutch regarded as the inveterate enemy of their republic, was ſent over in his place. A ground of quarrel was ſought by means of a yacht, diſpatched for Lady Temple. The Captain ſailed thro' the Dutch fleet, which lay on their own coaſts; and he had orders to make them ſtrike, to fire on them, and to perſevere till they ſhould return his fire. The Dutch Admiral, Van Ghent, ſurpriſed at this bravado, came

CHAP. LXV.

1671.

on board the yacht, and expreſſed his willingneſs to pay reſpect to the Britiſh flag, according to antient practice: But that a fleet on their own coaſts ſhould ſtrike to a ſingle veſſel, and that not a ſhip of war, was, he ſaid, ſuch an innovation, that he durſt not, without expreſs orders, agree to it. The Captain, thinking it dangerous to renew firing in the midſt of the Dutch fleet, continued his voyage; and for this neglect of orders was committed to the Tower.

THIS incident however furniſhed Downing with a new article to increaſe thoſe vain pretences, on which it was propoſed to ground the intended quarrel. The Engliſh court delayed ſeveral months before they complained; leſt, if they had demanded ſatisfaction more early, the Dutch might have had time to grant it. Even when Downing delivered his memorial, he was bound by his inſtructions not to accept of any ſatisfaction after a certain number of days; a very imperious manner of negotiating, and impracticable in Holland, where the forms of the republic render delays abſolutely unavoidable. An anſwer, however, though refuſed by Downing, was ſent over to London; with an Ambaſſador Extraordinary, who had orders to uſe every expedient which might give ſatisfaction to the court of England. That court replied, that the anſwer of the Hollanders was dark and obſcure; but they would not ſpecify the articles or expreſſions, which were liable to that objection. The Dutch Ambaſſador deſired the Engliſh miniſtry to draw the anſwer in what terms they pleaſed; and he engaged to ſign it: The Engliſh miniſtry replied, that it was not their buſineſs to draw papers for the Dutch. The Ambaſſador brought them the draught of an article, and aſked them whether it was ſatisfactory: The Engliſh anſwered, that, when he had ſigned and delivered it, they would tell him their mind concerning it. The Dutchman reſolved to ſign it at a venture;

and on his demanding a new conference, an hour was appointed for that purpoſe. But when he attended, the Engliſh refuſed to enter upon buſineſs, and told him, that the ſeaſon for negotiating was now paſt [d]. CHAP. LXV. 1672.

LONG and frequent prorogations were made of the parliament; leſt the Houſes ſhould declare themſelves with vigour againſt councils, ſo oppoſite to the inclination as well as intereſts of the public. Could we ſuppoſe, that Charles, in his alliance againſt Holland, really meant the good of his people, that meaſure muſt paſs for an extraordinary, nay, a romantic, ſtrain of heroiſm, which could lead him, in ſpite of all difficulties, and even in ſpite of themſelves, to ſeek the happineſs of the nation. But every ſtep, which he took in this affair, became a proof to all men of penetration, that the preſent war was intended againſt the liberties of his own ſubjects, even more than againſt the Dutch themſelves. He now acted in every thing, as if he were already an abſolute monarch, and was never more to lie under the controul of national aſſemblies.

THE long prorogation of parliament, if it freed the King from their importunate advices and remonſtrances, was however attended with this inconvenience, that no money could be procured to carry on the military preparations againſt Holland. Under pretence of maintaining the triple league, which, at that very time, he had firmly reſolved to break, Charles had obtained a large ſupply from the Commons; but this money was ſoon exhauſted by debts and expences. France had ſtipulated to pay two hundred and forty thouſand pounds the firſt year of the war, and the third of that ſum every year during the courſe of it; but theſe ſupplies were very inconſiderable, compared to the immenſe charge of the Engliſh navy. It ſeemed as yet premature to venture on levying money, without conſent of par-

[d] England's Appeal, p. 22.

CHAP. LXV. 1672.

liament; since the power of taxing themselves was the privilege, of which the English were, with reason, particularly jealous. Some other resource must be fallen on. The King had declared, that the staff of treasurer was ready for any one, that could find an expedient for supplying the present necessities. Shaftsbury dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter immediately seized, and carried to the King, who granted him the promised reward, together with a peerage. This expedient was the shutting up the Exchequer, and retaining all the payments, which should be made into it.

2d of January. Exchequer shut.

IT had been usual for the bankers to carry their money to the Exchequer, and to advance it upon the security of the funds, by which they were afterwards repaid, when the money was levied on the public. The bankers, by this traffic, got eight, sometimes ten, per cent. for sums, which either had been consigned to them without interest, or which they had borrowed at six per cent: Profits, which they dearly paid for by this egregious breach of public faith. The measure was so suddenly taken, that none had warning of the danger. A general confusion prevailed in the city, followed by the ruin of many. The bankers stopped payment; the merchants could answer no bills; distrust took place every where, with a stagnation of commerce, by which the public was universally affected. And men, full of dismal apprehensions, asked each other what must be the scope of those mysterious councils, whence the parliament and all men of honour were excluded, and which commenced by the forfeiture of public credit, and an open violation of the most solemn engagements, both foreign and domestic.

Declaration of indulgence.

ANOTHER measure of the court contains something laudable, when considered in itself; but if we reflect on the motive whence it proceeded, as well as the time

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

when it was embraced, it will appear a ſtrong inſtance of the arbitrary and dangerous councils, purſued at preſent by the King and his miniſtry. Charles reſolved to make uſe of his ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical matters; a power, he ſaid, which was not only inherent in him, but which had been recognized by ſeveral acts of parliament. By virtue of this authority, he iſſued a proclamation, ſuſpending the penal laws, enacted againſt all nonconformiſts or recuſants whatſoever, and granting to the proteſtant diſſenters the public exerciſe of their religion, to the catholics the exerciſe of it in private houſes. A fruitleſs experiment of this kind, oppoſed by the parliament, and retracted by the King, had already been made a few years after the reſtoration; but Charles expected that the parliament, whenever it ſhould meet, would now be tamed to greater ſubmiſſion, and would no longer dare to controul his meaſures. Meanwhile, the diſſenters, the moſt inveterate enemies to the court, were mollified by theſe indulgent maxims: And the catholics, under their ſhelter, enjoyed more liberty than the laws had hitherto allowed them.

15th of March.

At the ſame time, the act of navigation was ſuſpended by royal will and pleaſure: A meaſure, which, tho' a ſtretch of prerogative, ſeemed uſeful to commerce, while all the ſeamen were employed on board the royal navy. A like ſuſpenſion had been granted, during the time of the firſt Dutch war, and was not much remarked; becauſe men had, at that time, entertained leſs jealouſy of the crown. A proclamation was alſo iſſued, containing very rigorous clauſes in favour of preſſing: Another full of menaces againſt thoſe who preſumed to ſpeak undutifully of his Majeſty's meaſures, and even againſt thoſe who heard ſuch diſcourſes, unleſs they informed in due time upon the offenders: Another againſt importing or vending any ſorts of painted

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

earthen ware, "except thoſe of China, upon pain of "being grievouſly fined, and ſuffering the utmoſt pu- "niſhment, which might be lawfully inflicted upon con- "temners of his Majeſty's royal authority." A new army had been levied; and it was found, that diſcipline could not be enforced without the exerciſe of martial law, which was therefore eſtabliſhed by order of council, though contrary to the petition of right. All theſe acts of power, however little important in themſelves, ſavoured ſtrongly of arbitrary government, and were no-wiſe ſuitable to that legal adminiſtration, which the parliament, after ſuch violent convulſions and civil wars, had hoped to have eſtabliſhed in the kingdom.

IT may be worth remarking, that the Lord-Keeper refuſed to affix the ſeals to the declaration for ſuſpending the penal laws; and was for that reaſon, though under other pretences, removed from his office. Shafteſbury was made Chancellor in his place; and thus another member of the Cabal received the reward of his councils.

Attack of the Smyrna fleet.

FOREIGN tranſactions kept pace with theſe domeſtic occurrences. An attempt, before the declaration of war, was made on the Dutch Smyrna fleet by Sir Robert Holmes. That fleet conſiſted of ſeventy ſail, valued at a million and a half; and the hopes of ſeizing ſo rich a prey had been a great motive for engaging Charles in the preſent war, and he had conſidered that capture as a principal reſource for ſupporting his military enterprizes. Holmes, with nine frigates and three yachts, had orders to go in ſearch of this fleet; and he paſſed Sprague in the channel, who was returning home with a ſquadron from a cruize in the Mediterranean. Sprague informed him of the near approach of the Hollanders; and had not Holmes, from a deſire of engroſſing all the honour and profit of the enterprize, kept the

the ſecret of his orders, the conjunction of theſe ſquadrons had rendered the ſucceſs infallible. When Holmes approached the Dutch, he put on an amicable appearance, and invited the admiral, Van Neſs, who commanded the convoy, to come on board of him: One of his captains gave a like inſidious invitation to the rear-admiral. But theſe officers were on their guard. They had received an intimation of the hoſtile intentions of the Engliſh, and had already put all the ſhips of war and merchantmen in an excellent poſture of defence. Three times were they valiantly aſſailed by the Engliſh; and as often did they valiantly defend themſelves. In the third attack one of the Dutch ſhips of war was taken; and three or four of their moſt inconſiderable merchantmen fell into the enemies hands. The reſt, fighting with great ſkill and courage, continued their courſe; and, favoured by a miſt, got ſafe into their own harbours. This attempt is denominated perfidious and pyratical by the Dutch writers, and even by many of the Engliſh. It merits at leaſt the appellation of irregular; and as it had been attended with bad ſucceſs, it brought double ſhame upon the contrivers. The Engliſh miniſtry endeavoured to cover the action, by pretending that it was a caſual rencounter, ariſing from the obſtinacy of the Dutch, who refuſed the honours of the flag: But the contrary was ſo well known, that even Holmes himſelf had not the aſſurance to perſiſt in this aſſeveration.

CHAP. LXV.

1672. 13th of March.

'Till this incident the States, notwithſtanding all the menaces and preparations of the Engliſh, never believed them to be thoroughly in earneſt; and had always expected, that the affair would terminate either in ſome demands of money, or in ſome propoſals for the advancement of the Prince of Orange. The French themſelves had made little account of aſſiſtance from England;

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

England; and could ſcarce believe, that their ambitious projects would, contrary to every maxim of honour and policy, be forwarded by that power, which was moſt intereſted, and moſt able to oppoſe them. But Charles was too far advanced to retreat. He immediately iſſued a declaration of war againſt the Dutch; and ſurely reaſons more falſe and frivolous never were employed to juſtify a flagrant violation of treaty. Some complaints are made of injuries done to the Eaſt India Company, which yet that company diſavowed: The detention of ſome Engliſh in Surinam is mentioned; though it appears, that theſe perſons had voluntarily remained there: The refuſal of a Dutch fleet on their own coaſts to ſtrike to an Engliſh yacht, is much aggravated: And to piece up all theſe pretenſions, ſome abuſive pictures are mentioned, and repreſented as a ground of quarrel. The Dutch were long at a loſs what to make of this article; till at laſt it was diſcovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the penſionary, painted by order of ſome magiſtrates of Dort, and hung up in a chamber of the town-houſe, had given occaſion to the complaint. In the perſpective of this portrait, the painter had drawn ſome ſhips on fire in a harbour. This was conſtrued to be Chatham, where de Wit had really diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and had acquired great honour; but little did he imagine, that, while the inſult itſelf had ſo long been forgiven, the picture of it ſhould draw ſuch ſevere vengeance upon his country. The concluſion of this manifeſto, where the King ſtill profeſſed his attachment to the triple alliance, was of a piece with all the reſt of it.

17th of March. War declared with Holland.

THE French King's declaration of war contained more dignity, if undiſguiſed violence and injuſtice could merit that appellation. He pretended only, that the behaviour of the Hollanders had been ſuch, that it did not conſiſt with his glory any longer to bear it. That monarch's

monarch's preparations were in great forwardneſs; and his ambition was flattered with the moſt promiſing views of ſucceſs. Sweden was detached from the triple league: The biſhop of Munſter was engaged by the payment of ſubſidies to take part with France: The elector of Cologne had entered into the ſame alliance; and having conſigned Bonne and other towns into the hands of Lewis, magazines were there erected; and it was from that quarter that France propoſed to invade the United Provinces. The ſtanding force of that kingdom amounted to one hundred and eighty thouſand men; and with more than the half of this great army was the King now approaching to the Dutch frontiers. The order, œconomy, induſtry of Colbert, ſubſervient equally to the ambition of the Prince and happineſs of the people, furniſhed unexhauſted treaſures: Theſe, employed by the unrelenting vigilance of Louvois, ſupplied every military preparation, and facilitated all the enterprizes of the army: Condé, Turenne, ſeconded by Luxembourg, Crequi, and the moſt renowned generals of the age, conducted this army, and by their conduct and reputation inſpired courage into every one. The monarch himſelf, ſurrounded with a gallant nobility, animated his troops by the proſpect of reward, or, what was more valued, by the hopes of his approbation. The fatigues of war gave no interruption to gaiety: Its dangers furniſhed matter for glory; and in no enterprize did the genius of that gallant and polite people ever break out with more diſtinguiſhed luſtre. CHAP. LXV. 1672.

THOUGH de Wit's intelligence in foreign courts was not equal to the vigilance of his domeſtic adminiſtration, he had, long before, received many ſurmiſes of this fatal confederacy; but he prepared not for defence, ſo early or with ſuch induſtry, as the danger required. An union of England with France was evidently, he ſaw, deſtructive to the intereſts of the former kingdom; and therefore,

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

fore, overlooking or ignorant of the humours and ſecret views of Charles, he concluded it impoſſible, that ſuch pernicious projects could ever really be carried into execution. Secure in this fallacious reaſoning, he allowed the republic to remain too long in that defenceleſs ſituation, into which many concurring accidents had united to throw it.

Weakneſs of the States.

BY a continued and ſucceſsful application to commerce, the people were become very unwarlike, and confided entirely for their defence in that mercenary army, which they maintained. After the treaty of Weſtphalia, the States, truſting to their peace with Spain, and their alliance with France, had broke a great part of this army, and did not ſupport with ſufficient vigilance the diſcipline of the troops which remained. When the ariſtocratic party prevailed, it was thought prudent to diſmiſs many of the old experienced officers, who were devoted to the houſe of Orange; and their place was ſupplied by raw youths, the ſons or kinſmen of burgomaſters, by whoſe intereſt the party was ſupported. Theſe new officers, relying on the credit of their friends and family, neglected their military duty; and ſome of them, it is ſaid, were even allowed to ſerve by deputies, to whom they aſſigned a ſmall part of their pay. During the war with England, all the forces of that nation had been diſbanded: Lewis's invaſion of Flanders, followed by the triple league, occaſioned the diſmiſſion of the French regiments: And the place of theſe troops, which had ever had a chief ſhare in the honour and fortune of all the wars in the low countries, had not been ſupplied by any new levies.

DE WIT, ſenſible of this dangerous ſituation, and alarmed by the reports which came from all quarters, beſtirred himſelf to ſupply thoſe defects, to which it was not eaſy of a ſudden to provide a ſuitable remedy. But every

every propoſal which he could make, met with oppoſi- CHAP. LXV. 1672.
tion from the Orange party, which was now become extremely formidable. The long and uncontrouled adminiſtration of this ſtateſman had begot envy: the preſent incidents rouſed up his enemies and opponents, who aſcribed to his miſconduct alone the bad ſituation of the commonwealth: And, above all, the popular affection to the young Prince, which had ſo long been held in violent conſtraint, and had thence acquired new acceſſion of force, began to diſplay itſelf, and to threaten the commonwealth with ſome great convulſion. William the third, Prince of Orange, was now in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, and gave ſtrong indications of all thoſe great qualities, by which his life was afterwards ſo much diſtinguiſhed. De Wit himſelf, by giving him an excellent education, and inſtructing him in all the principles of government and ſound policy, had generouſly contributed to make his rival formidable. Dreading the precarious ſituation of his own party, he was always reſolved, he ſaid, by conveying to him the knowledge of affairs, to render the Prince capable of ſerving his country, if ever any future emergence ſhould throw the adminiſtration into his hands. The conduct of the young Prince had hitherto been extremely laudable. Notwithſtanding his powerful alliances with England and Brandenburgh, he had expreſſed his reſolution of depending entirely on the States for his advancement; and the whole tenor of his behaviour ſuited extremely the genius of that people. Silent and thoughtful; given to hear and to enquire; of a ſound and ſteady underſtanding: much firmneſs in what he once reſolved, or once denied; great application to buſineſs, little to pleaſure: By theſe virtues he engaged the attention of all men. And the people, ſenſible that they owed their liberty, and very exiſtence, to his family, and remembring, that his great uncle, Maurice, had been able, even

CHAP. LXV.

1672. even in more early youth, to protect them againſt the exorbitant power of Spain, were deſirous of raiſing this Prince to all the authority of his anceſtors, and hoped, from his valour and conduct alone, to receive protection againſt thoſe imminent dangers, with which they were at preſent threatened.

WHILE theſe two powerful factions ſtruggled for ſuperiority, every ſcheme for defence was oppoſed, every project retarded. What was determined with difficulty, was executed without vigour. Levies indeed were made, and the army compleated to ſeventy thouſand men[f]: The Prince was appointed both general and admiral of the Commonwealth, and the whole military power was put into his hands. But new troops could not of a ſudden acquire diſcipline and experience: And the partizans of the Prince were ſtill unſatisfied, as long as the *perpetual edict*, ſo it was called, remained in force; by which he was excluded from the Stadtholderſhip, and from all ſhare in the civil adminiſtration.

It had always been the maxim of de Wit's party to cultivate naval affairs with extreme care, and to give the fleet a viſible preference above the army, which they repreſented as the object of an unreaſonable partiality in the Princes of Orange. The two violent wars, which had of late been waged with England, had exerciſed the valour, and improved the ſkill of the ſailors. And, above all, de Ruyter, the greateſt ſea commander of the age, was cloſely connected with the Loveſtein party; and every one was diſpoſed, with confidence and alacrity, to obey him. The equipment of the fleet was therefore haſtened by de Wit; in hopes, that, by ſtriking at firſt a ſucceſsful blow, he might inſpire courage into the diſmayed States, and ſupport his own declining authority. He ſeems too, to have been, in a peculiar

[f] Temple, vol. i. p. 75.

manner,

manner, enraged againſt the Engliſh; and he reſolved to take revenge on them for their conduct, of which, he thought, his country had ſuch reaſon to complain. By the offer of a cloſe alliance and confederacy for mutual defence, they had ſeduced the Republic to quit the alliance of France; but no ſooner had ſhe embraced theſe meaſures, than they formed leagues for her deſtruction, with that very power, which they had treacherouſly engaged her to offend. In the midſt of full peace, nay, during an intimate union, they had attacked her commerce, the only means of her ſubſiſtence, and, moved by ſhameful rapacity, had invaded that property, which, relying on their faith, they had hoped to find unprotected and defenceleſs. Contrary to their own viſible intereſt, as well as to their honour, they ſtill retained a malignant reſentment for her ſucceſsful concluſion of the laſt war; a war, which had, at firſt, ſprung from their own wanton inſolence and ambition. To repreſs ſo dangerous an enemy, would, de Wit imagined, give a peculiar pleaſure, and contribute to the future ſecurity of his country, whoſe proſperity was ſo much the object of general envy. CHAP. LXV. 1672.

Actuated by like motives and views, de Ruyter put to ſea with a formidable fleet, conſiſting of ninety-one ſhips of war and forty-four fire-ſhips. Cornelius de Wit was on board, as deputy from the States. They ſailed in queſt of the Engliſh, who were under the command of the Duke of York, and who had already joined the French under Mareſchal d' Etrées. The combined fleets lay at Solebay in a very negligent poſture; and Sandwich, being an experienced officer, had given the Duke warning of the danger; but received, 'tis ſaid, ſuch an anſwer as intimated, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehenſions. Upon the appearance of the enemy, every one ran to his poſt with precipitation, and many ſhips were obliged to cut their cables, Battle of Solebay. 28th of May.

in

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

in order to be in readineſs. Sandwich commanded the van; and though determined to conquer or to periſh, he ſo tempered his courage with prudence, that the whole fleet was viſibly indebted to him for its ſafety. He haſtened out of the bay, where it had been eaſy for de Ruyter with his fire-ſhips to have deſtroyed the combined fleets, which were crowded together; and by this wiſe meaſure he gave time to the Duke of York, who commanded the main body, and to Mareſchal d' Etrées, Admiral of the rear, to diſengage themſelves. He himſelf meanwhile was engaged in cloſe fight with the Hollanders; and by preſenting himſelf to every danger, had drawn upon him all the braveſt of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, the Dutch Admiral, and beat off his ſhip: He ſunk another ſhip, which ventured to lay him aboard: He ſunk three fire-ſhips, which endeavoured to grapple with him: And though his veſſel was torne in pieces with ſhot, and of a thouſand men ſhe contained, near ſix hundred were laid dead upon the deck, he continued ſtill to thunder with all his artillery in the midſt of the enemy. But another fire-ſhip, more fortunate than the preceding, having laid hold of his veſſel, her deſtruction was now inevitable. Warned by Sir Edward Haddock, his Captain, he refuſed to make his eſcape, and bravely embraced death as a ſhelter from that ignominy, which a raſh expreſſion of the Duke, he thought, had thrown upon him.

Sandwich killed

DURING this fierce engagement with Sandwich, de Ruyter remained not inactive. He attacked the Duke of York, and fought him with ſuch fury for above two hours, that of two and thirty actions, in which he had been engaged, he declared this combat to be the moſt obſtinately diſputed. The Duke's ſhip was ſo ſhattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and remove his flag to another. His ſquadron was overpowered with numbers; till Sir Joſeph Jordan, who had ſucceeded to Sandwich's

Sandwich's command, came to his aſſiſtance; and the fight, being more equally ballanced, was continued till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the Engliſh. The loſs ſuſtained by the fleets of the two maritime powers was nearly equal, if it did not rather fall more heavy on the Engliſh. The French ſuffered very little, becauſe they had ſcarce been engaged in the action; and as this backwardneſs is not their national character, it was concluded, that they had received orders to ſpare their ſhips, while the Dutch and Engliſh ſhould weaken themſelves by their mutual animoſity. Almoſt all the other actions during the preſent war tended to confirm this ſuſpicion. CHAP. LXV. 1672.

It brought great honour to the Dutch to have fought with ſome advantage the combined fleets of two ſuch powerful nations; but nothing leſs than a compleat victory could ſerve the purpoſe of de Wit, or ſave his country from thoſe calamities which from every quarter threatened to overwhelm her. He had expected, that the French would make their attack on the ſide of Maeſtricht, which was well fortified, and provided of a good garriſon; but Lewis, taking advantage of his alliance with Cologne, reſolved to invade the enemy from that quarter, which he knew to be more feeble and defenceleſs. The armies of that Elector, and thoſe of Munſter appeared on the other ſide of the Rhine, and divided the force and attention of the States. The Dutch troops, too weak to defend ſo extenſive a frontier, were ſcattered into ſo many towns, that no conſiderable body remained in the field; and a ſtrong garriſon was hardly to be found in any fortreſs. Lewis paſſed the Meuſe at Viſet; and laying ſiege to Orſoi, a town of the Elector of Brandenburgh, but garriſoned by the Dutch, he carried it in three days. He divided his army, and inveſted at once Burik, Weſel, Emerik, and Rhimberg, four places regularly fortified, and not 14th of May. Progreſs of the French.

CHAP. LXV. 1672.

unprovided of troops: In a few days all theſe places were ſurrendered. A general aſtoniſhment had ſeized the Hollanders, from the combination of ſuch powerful Princes againſt the Republic; and no where was reſiſtance made, ſuitable to the antient glory or preſent greatneſs of the State. Governors without experience commanded troops without diſcipline; and deſpair had univerſally extinguiſhed that ſenſe of honour, by which alone, men in ſuch dangerous extremities can be animated to a valorous defence.

2d of June. LEWIS advanced to the banks of the Rhine, which he prepared to paſs. To all the other calamities of the Dutch was added the extreme drought of the ſeaſon, by which the greateſt rivers were much diminiſhed, and in ſome places rendered fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the preſence of their Prince, full of impetuous courage, but ranged in exact order, flung themſelves into the river: The infantry paſſed in boats: a few regiments of Dutch appeared on the other ſide, who were unable to make reſiſtance. And thus was executed without danger, but not without glory, the paſſage of the Rhine: ſo much celebrated, at that time, by the flattery of French courtiers, and tranſmitted to poſterity by the more durable flattery of their poets.

EACH ſucceſs added courage to the conquerors, and ſtruck the vanquiſhed with diſmay. The Prince of Orange, though prudent beyond his age, was but newly advanced to the command, unacquainted with the army, unknown to them; and all men, by reaſon of the violent factions which prevailed, were uncertain of the authority on which they muſt depend. It was expected, that the fort of Skink, ſo famous for the ſieges which it had formerly ſuſtained, would make ſome reſiſtance; but it yielded to Turenne in a few days. The ſame General made himſelf maſter of Arnheim, Knotzembourg,

bourg, and Nimeguen, as ſoon as he appeared before them. Doeſbourg at the ſame time opened its gates to Lewis: Soon after, Harderwic, Amersfort, Campen, Rhenen, Viane, Elberg, Zwol, Cuilemberg, Wageninguen, Lochem, Woerden, fell into the enemies hands. Groll and Deventer ſurrendered to the Mareſchal Luxembourg, who commanded the troops of Munſter. And every hour brought to the States news of the rapid progreſs of the French, and of the cowardly defence of their own garriſons. CHAP. LXV. 1672.

THE Prince of Orange, with his ſmall and diſcouraged army, retired into the province of Holland; where he expected, from the natural ſtrength of the country, ſince all human art and courage failed, to be able to make ſome reſiſtance. The town and province of Utrecht ſent deputations, and ſurrendered themſelves to Lewis. Naerden, a place within three leagues of Amſterdam, was ſeized by the Marquis of Rochfort; and had he puſhed on to Muyden, he had eaſily got poſſeſſion of it. Fourteen ſtragglers of his army having appeared before the gates of that town, the magiſtrates ſent them the keys; but a ſervant maid, who was alone in the caſtle, having raiſed the drawbridge, kept them from taking poſſeſſion of that fortreſs. The magiſtrates afterwards, finding the party ſo weak, made them drunk, and took the keys from them. Muyden is ſo near Amſterdam, that its cannon may infeſt the ſhips which enter that city.

LEWIS with a ſplendid court made a ſolemn entry into Utrecht, full of glory, becauſe every where attended with ſucceſs; though more owing to the cowardice and miſconduct of his enemies, than to his own valour or prudence. Three provinces were already in his hands, Guelderland, Overyſſel, and Utrecht; Groninghen was threatened; Friezeland lay expoſed: The 25th of June.

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

only difficulty lay in Holland and Zealand; and the monarch deliberated concerning the proper meaſures for reducing them. Condé and Turenne exhorted him to diſmantle all the towns, which he had taken, except a few; and fortifying his main army by the garriſons, put himſelf in a condition of puſhing his conqueſts. Louvois, hoping that the other provinces, weak and diſmayed, would prove an eaſy prey, adviſed him to keep poſſeſſion of places, which might afterwards ſerve to retain the people in ſubjection. His council was followed; though it was found, ſoon after, to have been the moſt impolitic.

Conſternation of the Dutch.

MEANWHILE the people, throughout all the Republic, inſtead of collecting a noble indignation againſt the haughty conqueror, diſcharged their rage upon their own unhappy miniſter, on whoſe prudence and integrity every one formerly beſtowed the merited applauſe. The bad condition of the armies was laid to his charge: The ill choice of governors was aſcribed to his partiality: As inſtances of cowardice multiplied, treachery was ſuſpected; and his former connections with France being remembered, the populace believed, that he and his partizans had now combined to betray them to their moſt mortal enemy. The Prince of Orange, notwithſtanding his youth and inexperience, was looked on as the only ſaviour of the State; and men were violently drove by their fears into his party, to which they had always been led by favour and inclination.

THE town of Amſterdam alone ſeemed to retain ſome courage; and by forming a regular plan of defence, endeavoured to infuſe ſpirit into the other cities. The magiſtrates obliged the burgeſſes to keep a ſtrict watch: The populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, and armed for the defence of the public. Some ſhips, which lay

lay uſeleſs in the harbour, were refitted, and ſtationed to guard the city: And the ſluices being opened, the neighbouring country, without regard to the great damage ſuſtained, was laid under water. All the province followed this example, and ſcrupled not, in this extremity, to reſtore to the ſea thoſe fertile fields, which with infinite art and expence had been won from it. CHAP. LXV. 1672.

THE States of Holland met to conſider, whether any means were left to ſave the remains of their lately flouriſhing, and now diſtreſſed Commonwealth. Though they were ſurrounded with waters, which barred all acceſs to the enemy, their deliberations were not conducted with that tranquillity, which could alone ſuggeſt meaſures, proper to extricate them from their preſent difficulties. The nobles gave their vote, that, provided their religion, liberty, and ſovereignty could be ſaved, every thing elſe ſhould without ſcruple be ſacrificed to the conqueror. Eleven towns concurred in the ſame ſentiments. Amſterdam ſingly declared againſt all treaty with inſolent and triumphant enemies: But notwithſtanding that oppoſition, ambaſſadors were diſpatched to implore the pity of the two combined monarchs. It was reſolved to ſacrifice to Lewis Maeſtricht and all the frontier towns, which lay without the bounds of the ſeven provinces; and to pay him a large ſum for the charges of the war.

LEWIS deliberated with his miniſters Louvois and Pomponne, concerning the meaſures which he ſhould embrace in the preſent emergence; and fortunately for Europe, he ſtill preferred the violent councils of the former. He offered to evacuate his conqueſts on condition, that all duties lately impoſed on the commodities of France ſhould be taken off; that the public exerciſe of the Romiſh religion ſhould be permitted; the churches ſhared with the Catholics, and their

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

priests maintained by appointments from the States; that all the frontier towns of the Republic should be resigned to him, together with Nimeguen, Skink, Knotzembourg, and that part of Guelderland which lay on the other side of the Rhine; as likewise the isle of Bommel, that of Voorn, the fortress of St. Andrew, that of Louvestein and Crevecœur; that they should pay him the sum of twenty millions of livres for the charges of the war; that they should every year send him a solemn embassy, and present him with a golden medal, as an acknowledgment, that they owed to him the preservation of that liberty, which by the assistance of his predecessors they had been able to acquire; and that they should give entire satisfaction to the King of England: And he allowed them but ten days for the acceptance of these exorbitant demands.

THE ambassadors, who came to London, met with still worse reception: No minister was allowed to treat with them; and they were retained in a kind of confinement. But notwithstanding this rigorous conduct of the court, the presence of the Dutch ambassadors excited the sentiments of tender compassion, and even indignation among the people in general, but especially among those who could foresee the aim and result of those dangerous councils. The two most powerful monarchs, they said, in Europe, the one by land, the other by sea, have, contrary to the faith of solemn treaties, combined to exterminate an illustrious Republic: What a dismal prospect does their success afford to the neighbours of the one, and to the subjects of the other? Charles had formed the triple league, in order to restrain the exorbitant power of France: A sure proof, that he does not now err from ignorance. He had courted and obtained the applauses of his people by that wise measure: As he now adopts contrary councils, he must surely expect by their means to render himself independent

of

of his people, whoſe ſentiments are become ſo indiffe- CHAP. LXV.
rent to him. During the moſt entire ſubmiſſion of the
nation, and moſt dutiful behaviour of the parliament, 1672.
dangerous projects, without provocation, are formed to reduce them to ſubjection, and all the foreign intereſts of the people are ſacrificed, in order the more ſurely to bereave them of their domeſtic liberties. Leſt any inſtance of freedom ſhould remain within their view, the United Provinces, the real barrier of England, muſt be abandoned to the moſt dangerous enemy of England; and by an univerſal combination of tyranny againſt laws and liberty, all mankind, who have retained, in any degree, their precious, though hitherto precarious, birthrights, are for ever to ſubmit to ſlavery and injuſtice.

THOUGH the fear of giving offence to his confederate had engaged Charles to treat the Dutch ambaſſadors with ſuch rigour, he was not altogether without uneaſineſs, on account of the rapid and unexpected progreſs of the French arms. Were Holland entirely conquered, its whole commerce and naval force, he ſaw, muſt become an acceſſion to France; the Spaniſh Low Countries muſt ſoon follow; and Lewis, now independent of his ally, would no longer think it his intereſt to ſupport him againſt his diſcontented ſubjects. Charles, though he never ſtretched his attention to very diſtant conſequences, could not but foreſee theſe obvious events; and though incapable of envy or jealouſy, he was touched with anxiety, when he found every thing yield to the French arms, while ſuch vigorous reſiſtance was made to his own. He ſoon diſmiſſed the Dutch ambaſſadors, leſt they ſhould cabal among his ſubjects, who bore them great favour: But he ſent over Buckingham and Arlington, and ſoon after Lord Halifax, to negotiate anew with the French King, in the preſent proſperous ſituation of that monarch's affairs.

CHAP. LXV.

1672. THESE miniſters paſſed through Holland; and as they were ſuppoſed to bring peace to the diſtreſt Republic, they were received every where with the loudeſt acclamations. "God bleſs the King of England! God bleſs the Prince of Orange! Confuſion to the States"! This was every where the cry of the populace. The ambaſſadors had ſeveral conferences with the States and the Prince of Orange; but made no reaſonable advances towards an accommodation. They went to Utrecht, where they renewed the league with Lewis, and agreed, that neither of the Kings ſhould ever make peace with Holland but by common conſent. They next gave in their pretenſions, of which the following are the principal articles; that the Dutch ſhould give up the honour of the flag, without the leaſt reſerve or limitation, nor ſhould whole fleets, even on the coaſt of Holland, refuſe to ſtrike and lower their topſails to the ſmalleſt ſhip, carrying the Britiſh flag; that all perſons, guilty of treaſon againſt the King, or of writing ſeditious libels, ſhould, on complaint, be baniſhed for ever the dominions of the States; that the Dutch ſhould pay the King a million ſterling towards the charges of the war, together with ten thouſand pounds a year for permiſſion to fiſh on the Britiſh ſeas; that they ſhould ſhare the Indian trade with the Engliſh; that the Prince of Orange and his deſcendants ſhould enjoy the ſovereignty of the United Provinces; at leaſt, that they ſhould be inveſted with the dignities of Stadtholder, Admiral, and General, in as ample a manner as had ever been enjoyed by any of his anceſtors; and that the iſle of Walcheren, the city and caſtle of Sluis, together with the iſles of Cadſant, Gorée, and Vorne, ſhould be put into the King's hands, as a ſecurity for the performance of articles. It is moſt conſiſtent with candour and reaſon to ſuppoſe, that Charles had not, in his alliance with France, propoſed the utter deſtruction of the United Provinces;

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

Provinces; ſince ſuch a ſcheme is ſcarce compatible with the project of employing the French power for extending his authority at home: But as the unexpected progreſs of Lewis's arms had reduced the Hollanders to the laſt extremity, the King was deſirous of acquiring a conſiderable ſhare of that rich booty, which fortune had thrown into their hands.

THE terms propoſed by Lewis bereaved the Republic of all ſecurity againſt any land invaſion from France: Thoſe demanded by Charles expoſed them equally to an invaſion by ſea from England: And when both were joined, they appeared abſolutely intollerable, and reduced the Hollanders, who ſaw no means of defence, to the utmoſt deſpair. What extremely augmented their diſtreſs, were the violent factions with which they continued to be every where agitated. De Wit, too pertinacious in defence of his own ſyſtem of liberty, while the very being of the Commonwealth was threatened, ſtill perſevered in oppoſing the repeal of the perpetual edict, now become the object of horror to the Dutch populace. Their rage at laſt broke all bounds, and bore every thing before it. They roſe in an inſurrection at Dort, and by force conſtrained their burgo-maſters to ſign the repeal, ſo much demanded. This proved a ſignal of a general revolt throughout all the provinces.

30th of June.

AT Amſterdam, the Hague, Middlebourg, Rotterdam, the people flew to arms, and trampling under foot the authority of their magiſtrates, obliged them to ſubmit to the Prince of Orange. They expelled from their office ſuch as diſpleaſed them: They required the Prince to appoint others in their place: And agreeable to the proceedings of the populace in all ages, provided they might wreak their vengeance on their ſuperiors, they expreſſed a great indifference for the protection of their civil liberties.

Prince of Orange Stadtholder.

THE

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

THE ſuperior talents and virtues of de Wit made him, on this occaſion, the chief object of general envy, and expoſed him to the utmoſt rage of popular prejudices. Four aſſaſſins, actuated by no other motive than miſtaken zeal, had aſſaulted him in the ſtreets; and after giving him many wounds, had left him for dead. One of them was puniſhed: The others were never queſtioned for their crime. His brother Cornelius, who had behaved with great prudence and courage on board the fleet, was obliged by ſickneſs to come aſhore, and he was now confined to his houſe at Dort. Some aſſaſſins broke in upon him; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that his family and ſervants could repel their violence. At Amſterdam, the houſe of the brave de Ruyter, the ſole reſource of the diſtreſt Commonwealth, was ſurrounded by the enraged populace, and his wife and children were for ſome time expoſed to the moſt imminent danger.

ONE Tichelaer, a barber, a man noted for infamy, accuſed Cornelius de Wit of endeavouring by bribes to engage him in the deſign of poiſoning the Prince of Orange. The accuſation, tho' attended with the moſt improbable and even abſurd circumſtances, was greedily received by the credulous multitude; and Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature. The judges, either blinded by the ſame prejudices, or not daring to oppoſe the popular torrent, condemned him to ſuffer the queſtion. This man, who had bravely ſerved his country in war, and who had been inveſted with the higheſt dignities, was delivered into the hands of the executioner, and torn in pieces by the moſt inhuman torments. Amidſt the ſevere agonies which he endured, he ſtill made proteſtations of his innocence, and frequently repeated an ode of Horace, which contained ſentiments ſuited to his deplorable condition.

Juſtum

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum, &c.[g]

THE judges, however, condemned him to loſe his offices, and to be baniſhed the Commonwealth. The penſionary, who had not been terrified from performing the part of a kind brother, and faithful friend during this proſecution, reſolved not to deſert him on account of the unmerited infamy, which was endeavoured to be thrown upon him. He came to his brother's priſon, determined to accompany him to the place of his exile. The ſignal was given to the populace. They roſe in arms: They broke open the doors of the priſon; they pulled out the two brothers; and a thouſand hands vied with each other, who ſhould firſt be embrued in their blood. Even their death did not ſatiate the brutal rage of the multitude. They exerciſed on the dead bodies of

Maſſacre of the De Wits.

[g] Which may be thus tranſlated.

The man, whoſe mind on virtue bent,
Purſues ſome greatly good intent,
With undiverted aim,
Serene beholds the angry crowd;
Nor can their clamours, fierce and loud,
His ſtubborn honour tame.

Not the proud tyrant's fierceſt threat,
Nor ſtorms, that from their dark retreat
The lawleſs ſurges wake,
Nor Jove's dread bolt that ſhakes the pole,
The firmer purpoſe of his ſoul
With all its power can ſhake.

Shou'd Nature's frame in ruins fall,
And chaos o'er the ſinking ball
Reſume primæval ſway,
His courage chance and fate defies,
Nor feels the wreck of earth and ſkies
Obſtruct its deſtin'd way.

This tranſlation was executed, at the author's deſire, by his friend, Mr. Blacklock, whoſe elegant collection of poems was lately publiſhed by Mr. Dodſley. The poems are worthy of attention on account of their own merit, but may be regarded as very extraordinary, when we conſider what force of imagination is there diſplayed by an author born blind.

thoſe

CHAP. LXV.

1672.

those virtuous citizens, indignities too shocking to be recited; and till tired with their own fury, it was not permitted the friends of the deceased to approach, or to bestow on them the honours of a funeral, silent and unattended.

THE massacre of the de Wits put an end for the time to the remains of their party; and all men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in expressing the most implicit obedience to the Prince of Orange. The Republic, tho' half subdued by foreign force, and as yet dismayed by its misfortunes, was firmly united under one leader, and began to collect the remains of its antient vigour. William, worthy of that heroic family from which he sprung, adopted sentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. He bent all his efforts against the public enemy: He sought not against his country any advantages which might be dangerous to civil liberty. Those intolerable conditions, demanded by their insolent enemies, he exhorted the States to reject with scorn; and by his advice they put an end to negotiations, which served only to break the courage of their fellow citizens, and delay the assistance of their allies. He showed them, that the numbers and riches of the people, aided by the advantages of nature, would still be sufficient, if they abandoned not themselves to despair, to resist, at least retard, the progress of their enemies, and preserve the remaining provinces, till the other nations of Europe, sensible of the common danger, could come to their relief. He represented, that as envy of their opulence and liberty had produced this mighty combination against them, they would in vain expect by concessions to satisfy foes, whose pretensions were as little bounded by moderation as by justice. He exhorted them to remember the generous valour of their ancestors, who, yet in the infancy of their State, preferred liberty to every human consideration, and rouzing their

Good conduct of the Prince.

spirits

ſpirits to an obſtinate defence, repelled all the power, riches, and military diſcipline of Spain. And he profeſſed himſelf willing to tread in the ſteps of his illuſtrious predeceſſors, and hoped, that as they had honoured him with the ſame affection which their anceſtors paid the former Princes of Orange, they would ſecond his efforts with the ſame conſtancy and manly fortitude. 1672.

THE ſpirit of the young Prince infuſed itſelf into all his hearers. Thoſe who lately entertained thoughts of yielding their necks to ſubjection were now bravely determined to reſiſt the haughty victor, and to defend thoſe laſt remains of their native ſoil, of which neither the irruptions of Lewis nor the innundation of waters had as yet bereaved them. Should even the ground fail them on which they might combat, they were ſtill reſolved not to yield the generous ſtrife; but flying to their ſettlements in the Indies, erect a new empire in thoſe remote regions, and preſerve alive, even in the climates of ſlavery, that liberty, of which Europe was become unworthy. Already they concerted meaſures for executing this extraordinary reſolution; and found, that the veſſels contained in their harbours could tranſport above two hundred thouſand inhabitants to the Eaſt Indies.

THE combined Princes, finding at laſt ſome appearance of oppoſition, bent all their efforts to ſeduce the Prince of Orange, on whoſe valour and conduct the fate of the Commonwealth entirely depended. The ſovereignty of the province of Holland was offered him, and the protection of England and France, to inſure him, as well againſt the invaſion of foreign enemies, as the inſurrection of his ſubjects. All propoſals were generouſly rejected; and the Prince declared his reſolution to retire into Germany, and to paſs his life in hunting on his lands there, rather than abandon the liberty of his country, or betray the truſt repoſed in him. When Buck-

ingham

CHAP. LXV. 1672.

ingham urged the inevitable deſtruction which hung over the United Provinces, and aſked him, whether he did not ſee, that the Commonwealth was ruined; *There is one certain means*, replied the Prince, *by which I can be ſecure never to ſee my country's ruin: I will die in the laſt ditch.*

THE people in Holland had been much incited to eſpouſe the Prince's party, by the hopes, that the King of England, pleaſed with his nephew's advancement, would abandon thoſe dangerous engagements, into which he had entered, and would afford his protection to the diſtreſſed Republic. But all theſe hopes were ſoon found to be fallacious. Charles ſtill perſiſted in his alliance with France; and the combined fleets approached the coaſt of Holland, with an Engliſh army on board, commanded by Count Schomberg. It is pretended, that an unuſual tide carried them off the coaſt, and that Providence thus interpoſed, in an extraordinary manner, to ſave the Republic from the imminent danger to which it was expoſed. Very tempeſtuous weather, it is certain, prevailed all the reſt of the ſeaſon; and the combined fleets either were blown to a diſtance, or dared not to approach a ſhore, which might prove fatal to them. Lewis, finding that his enemies gathered courage behind their inundations, and that no farther progreſs was likely for the preſent to attend his arms, had retired to Verſailles.

THE other nations of Europe regarded the ſubjection of Holland as the forerunner of their own ſlavery, and retained no hopes of defending themſelves, ſhould ſuch a mighty acceſſion be made to the already exorbitant power of France. The Emperor, though he lay at a diſtance, and was naturally ſlow in his undertakings, began to put himſelf in motion; Brandenburgh ſhewed a diſpoſition to take party with the States; Spain had

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CHAP. LXV.

1672.

ſent ſome forces to their aſſiſtance; and by the preſent efforts of the Prince of Orange, and the proſpect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began already to appear. Groninghen was the firſt place which ſtopped the progreſs of the enemy: The biſhop of Munſter was repulſed from that town, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege with loſs and diſhonour. Naerden was attempted by the Prince of Orange; but Mareſchal Luxembourg, breaking in upon his entrenchments with a ſudden irruption, obliged him to abandon the enterprize.

1673. 4th of February. A parliament.

THERE was no ally on whom the Dutch more relied for aſſiſtance than the parliament of England, which the King's neceſſities at laſt obliged him to aſſemble. The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were fixed on this ſeſſion, which met after prorogations continued for near two years. It was evident how much the King dreaded the aſſembling his parliament; and the diſcontents univerſally excited by the bold meaſures entered into both in foreign and domeſtic adminiſtration, had given but too juſt foundation for his apprehenſions.

THE King, however, in his ſpeech, addreſſed them with all the appearance of cordiality and confidence. He ſaid, that he would have aſſembled them ſooner, had he not been deſirous to allow them leiſure for attending their private affairs, as well as to give his people reſpite from taxes and impoſitions: That ſince their laſt meeting, he had been forced into a war, not only juſt but neceſſary, neceſſary both for the honour and intereſt of the nation: That in order to have peace at home, while he had war abroad, he had iſſued his declaration of indulgence to diſſenters, and had found many good effects to reſult from that meaſure: That he heard of ſome exceptions which had been taken to this exerciſe of power; but he would tell them plainly, that he was reſolved to

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CHAP. LXV. 1673.

ſtick to his declaration; and would be much offended at any contradiction: and that though a rumour had been ſpread, as if the new levied army had been intended to controul law and property, he regarded that jealouſy as ſo frivolous, that he was reſolved to augment his forces next ſpring, and did not doubt but they would conſider the neceſſity of them in their ſupplies. The reſt of the buſineſs he left to the chancellor.

THE chancellor enlarged on the ſame topics, and added many extraordinary poſitions of his own. He told them, that the Hollanders were the common enemies of all monarchies, eſpecially that of England, their only competitor for commerce and naval power, and the ſole obſtacle to their views of an univerſal empire, as extenſive as that of antient Rome: That even during their preſent diſtreſs and danger, they were ſo intoxicated with theſe ambitious projects, as to ſlight all treaty, nay, to refuſe all ceſſation of hoſtilities: That the King, in entering on this war, did no more than proſecute thoſe maxims, which had engaged the parliament to adviſe and approve of the laſt; and he might therefore ſafely ſay, that *it was their war*: That the States being the eternal enemies of England, both by intereſt and inclination, the parliament had wiſely judged it neceſſary to extirpate them, and had laid it down as an eternal maxim, that *delenda eſt Carthago*, this hoſtile government by all means is to be ſubverted: And that tho' the Dutch pretended to have aſſurances, that the parliament would furniſh no ſupplies to the King, he was confident, that this hope, in which they extremely truſted, would ſoon fail them.

BEFORE the Commons entered upon buſineſs, there lay before them an affair, which diſcovered, beyond a poſſibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the King; and the meaſures taken upon it, proved, that the houſe was

was not at present in a disposition to submit to them. It had been the constant undisputed practice, ever since the parliament in 1604, for the house, in case of any vacancy, to issue out writs for new elections; and the Chancellor, who, before that time, had had some precedents in his favour, had ever afterwards abstained from all exercise of that authority. This indeed was one of the first steps, which the Commons had taken in establishing and guarding their privileges; and nothing could be more requisite than this precaution, in order to prevent the clandestine issuing of writs, and to ensure a fair and free election. No one but so desperate a minister as Shaftesbury, who had entered into a regular plan for reducing the people to subjection, could have entertained thoughts of breaking in upon a practice so reasonable and so well established, or could have hoped to succeed in so bold an enterprize. Several members had taken their seats upon irregular writs issued by the Chancellor; but the house was no sooner assembled, and the Speaker placed in his chair, than a motion was made against them; and the members themselves had the modesty to withdraw. Their election was declared null; and new writs, in the usual form, were issued by the Speaker.

The next step taken by the Commons had the appearance of some more complaisance; but in reality proceeded from the same spirit of liberty and independence. They resolved, in order to supply his Majesty's extraordinary occasions, for that was the expression they used, to grant eighteen months assessment, at the rate of 70,000 pounds a month, amounting in the whole to 1,260,000 pounds. Though unwilling to come to a violent breach with the King, they would not express the least approbation of the war; and they gave him the prospect of this supply, only that they might have

CHAP. LXV. 1673.

permiſſion to proceed peaceably in the redreſs of ſome other grievances, of which they had ſuch reaſon to complain.

No grievance was more alarming, both on account of the ſecret views from which it proceeded, and the conſequences which might attend it, than the declaration of indulgence. A remonſtrance was immediately formed againſt that exerciſe of prerogative. The King defended his meaſure. The Commons perſiſted in their oppoſition to it; and they repreſented, that ſuch a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free courſe of the laws, and alter the legiſlative power, which had always been acknowledged to reſide in the King and the two houſes. All the world was in expectation, with regard to the iſſue of this extraordinary affair. The King ſeemed engaged in honour to ſupport his meaſure; and in order to obviate all oppoſition, he had poſitively declared that he would ſupport it. The Commons were obliged to perſevere, not only becauſe it was diſhonourable to be foiled, where they could plead ſuch ſtrong reaſons, but alſo becauſe, if the King prevailed in his pretenſions, an end ſeemed to be put to all the legal limitations of the conſtitution.

It is evident, that the King was now come to that delicate criſis, which he ought at firſt to have foreſeen, when he embraced thoſe deſperate councils; and his reſolutions, in ſuch an event, ought long ago to have been entirely fixed and determined. Beſides his uſual guards, he had an army encamped at Blackheath under the command of Mareſchal Schomberg, a foreigner; and many of the officers were of the catholic religion. His ally, the French king, he might expect, would ſecond him, if violence became requiſite for reſtraining his diſcontented ſubjects, and ſupporting the meaſures, which by common conſent they had agreed to purſue.

But

CHAP. LXV.

1673.

But Charles was ſtartled, when he approached ſo dangerous a precipice, as that which lay before him. Were violence once offered, there could be no return, he ſaw, of mutual confidence and truſt with his people; the perils attending foreign ſuccours, eſpecially from ſo mighty a prince, were ſufficiently apparent; and the ſucceſs which his own arms had met with in the war was not ſo great, as to increaſe his authority, or terrify the malecontents from oppoſition. The deſire of power likewiſe, which had engaged Charles in theſe precipitant meaſures, had leſs proceeded, we may obſerve, from ambition than from love of eaſe. Strict limitations of the conſtitution rendered the government complicated and troubleſome; and it was impoſſible for him, without much contrivance and intrigue, to procure the money neceſſary for his pleaſures, or even for the regular ſupport of the government. When the proſpect, therefore, of ſuch dangerous oppoſition preſented itſelf, the ſame love of eaſe inclined him to retract what it ſeemed ſo difficult to maintain; and his turn of mind, naturally pliant and careleſs, made him find little objection to a meaſure, which a more haughty prince would have embraced with the utmoſt reluctance. That he might yield with the better grace, he aſked the opinion of the Houſe of Peers, who adviſed him to comply with the Commons. And accordingly the King ſent for the declaration, and with his own hands broke the ſeals. The Commons expreſſed the utmoſt ſatisfaction with this meaſure, and the moſt entire duty to his Majeſty. The King aſſured them, that he would willingly paſs any law, offered him, which might tend to give them ſatisfaction in all their juſt grievances.

Declaration of indulgence recalled.

Shaftesbury, when he ſaw the King recede at once from ſo capital a point, which he had publicly declared his reſolution to maintain, concluded, that all the ſchemes for enlarging royal authority were vaniſhed,

CHAP. LXV.

1673.

and that Charles was utterly incapable of purſuing ſuch difficult and ſuch dangerous meaſures. The parliament, he foreſaw, might puſh their enquiries into thoſe councils, which were ſo generally odious; and the King, from the ſame facility of diſpoſition, might abandon his miniſters to their vengeance. He was reſolved, therefore, to make his peace in time with that party, which was likely to predominate and to atone for all his violences in favour of monarchy, by like violences in oppoſition to it. Never turn was more ſudden, or leſs calculated to ſave appearances. Immediately he entered into all the cabals of the country party; and diſcovered to them, perhaps magnified, the arbitrary councils of the court, in which he himſelf had borne ſo deep a ſhare. He was received with open arms by that party, who ſtood in need of ſo able a leader; and no queſtions were aſked with regard to his late apoſtacy. The various factions, into which the nation had been divided, and the many ſudden revolutions to which the public had been expoſed, had tended much to debauch the minds of men, and to deſtroy the ſenſe of honour and decorum in their public conduct.

BUT the parliament, though ſatisfied with the King's compliance, had not loſt all thoſe apprehenſions, to which the meaſures of the court had given ſo much foundation. A law paſſed for impoſing a *teſt* on all who ſhould enjoy any public office. Beſides taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and receiving the ſacrament in the eſtabliſhed church; they were obliged to abjure all belief in the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. As the diſſenters had ſeconded the efforts of the Commons againſt the King's declaration of indulgence, and ſeemed reſolute to accept of no toleration in an illegal manner, they had acquired great favour with the parliament, and a project was adopted to unite the whole proteſtant intereſt againſt the common enemy, who now

began

began to appear formidable. A bill passed the Commons for the ease and relief of the protestant nonconformists; but met with some difficulties, at least delays, in the House of Peers. CHAP. LXV. 1673.

THE resolution for supply was carried into a law; as a recompence to the King for his concessions. A general pardon likewise and indemnity was passed, which screened the ministers from all farther enquiry. The parliament probably thought that the best method of reclaiming the criminals, was to shew them, that their case was not desperate. Even the remonstrance, which the Commons voted of their grievances, may be regarded as a proof, that their anger was, for the time, appeased. None of the capital points are touched on; the breach of the triple league, the French alliance, the shutting up the Exchequer. The sole grievances mentioned are an arbitrary imposition on coals for providing convoys, the exercise of military law, the quartering and pressing of soldiers; and they prayed, that, after the conclusion of the war, the whole army should be disbanded. The King gave them a gracious, though evasive answer. When business was finished, the two Houses adjourned themselves.

THOUGH the King had, for the time, receded from his declaration of indulgence, and thereby had tacitly relinguished the suspending power, he was still resolved, notwithstanding his bad success both at home and abroad, to persevere in his alliance with France, and in the Dutch war, and consequently in all those secret views, whatever they were, which depended on those fatal measures. The money, granted by parliament, sufficed to equip a fleet, of which Prince Rupert was declared Admiral: For the Duke was set aside by the test. Sir Edward Sprague and the Earl of Ossory commanded under the Prince. A French squadron joined them, 29th of March.

CHAP. LXV

1673. 28th of May Sea-fight.

them, commanded by d' Etrées. The combined fleets ſet ſail towards the coaſt of Holland, and found the enemy, lying at anchor, within the ſands at Schonvelt. There is a natural confuſion attending ſea-fights, even beyond other military tranſactions; derived from the precarious operations of winds and tides, as well as from the ſmoke and darkneſs, in which every thing is there involved. No wonder, therefore, that relations of theſe battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions; eſpecially when compoſed by writers of the hoſtile nations, who take pleaſure in exalting their own advantages, and ſuppreſſing thoſe of the enemy. All we can ſay with certainty of this battle, is, that both ſides boaſted of the victory; and we may thence infer, that the action was not deciſive. The Dutch, being near home, retired into their own harbours. In a week, they were refitted, and preſented themſelves again to the combined fleets. A new action enſued, not more deciſive than the foregoing. It was not fought with great obſtinacy on either ſide; but whether the Dutch or the allies firſt retired ſeems to be a matter of uncertainty. The loſs in the former of theſe actions fell chiefly on the French, whom the Engliſh, diffident of their intentions, took care to place under their own ſquadrons; and they thereby expoſed them to all the fire of the enemy. There ſeems not to have been a ſhip loſt on either ſide in the ſecond engagement.

4th of June. Another ſea-fight.

It was ſufficient glory to de Ruyter, that with a fleet much inferior to the combined ſquadrons of France and England, he could fight without any notable diſadvantage; and it was ſufficient victory, that he could defeat the project of a deſcent in Zealand, which, had it taken place, had endangered, in the preſent circumſtances, the total overthrow of the Dutch commonwealth. Prince Rupert alſo was ſuſpected not to favour the

the King's projects of ſubduing Holland, or enlarging his authority at home; and from theſe motives, he was thought not to have preſſed ſo hard on the enemy, as his well-known valour gave reaſon to expect. It is indeed remarkable, that, during this war, though the Engliſh with their allies much over-matched the Hollanders, they were not able to gain any advantage over them; while in the former war, though often overborn by numbers, they ſtill exerted themſelves with the moſt heroic courage, and always acquired great renown, ſometimes even ſignal victories. But they were diſguſted with the preſent meaſures, which they eſteemed pernicious to their country; they were not ſatisfied in the juſtice of the quarrel; and they entertained a perpetual jealouſy of their confederates, whom, had they been permitted, they would with much more pleaſure have deſtroyed than even the enemy themſelves.

CHAP. LXV. 1673.

If Prince Rupert was not favourable to the deſigns of the court, he enjoyed as little favour from the court, at leaſt from the Duke, who, though he could no longer command the fleet, ſtill poſſeſſed the chief authority in the Admiralty. The Prince complained of a total want of every thing, powder, ſhot, proviſions, beer, and even water; and he went into harbour, that he might refit the fleet, and ſupply its numerous neceſſities. After ſome weeks he was refitted; and he again put to ſea. The hoſtile fleets met at the mouth of the Texel, and fought the laſt battle, which, during a courſe of ſo many years, theſe neighbouring maritime powers have diſputed with each other. De Ruyter, and under him Tromp, commanded the Dutch in this action, as in the two former: For the Prince of Orange had reconciled theſe two gallant rivals; and they retained nothing of their former animoſity, except

11th of Auguſt. Another fight.

CHAP. LXV. 1673.

that emulation, which made them exert themſelves with more diſtinguiſhed bravery againſt the enemies of their country. Brankert was oppoſed to d'Etrées, de Ruyter to Prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague. It is remarkable, that in all actions theſe brave admirals laſt mentioned had ſtill ſelected each other, as the only antagoniſts worthy each others valour; and no deciſive advantage had as yet been gained by either of them. They fought in this battle, as if there were no mean between death and victory.

D'ETREES and all the French ſquadron, except Rear Admiral Martel, kept at a diſtance; and Brankert, inſtead of preſſing on them, bore down to the aſſiſtance of de Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with Prince Rupert. On no occaſion did the Prince acquire more deſerved honour: His conduct, as well as valour, ſhone out with ſignal luſtre. Having diſengaged his ſquadron from the numerous enemies, with which he was every where ſurrounded, and having joined Sir John Chichely, his Rear Admiral, who had been ſeparated from him, he made haſte to the relief of Sprague, who was very hard preſſed by Tromp's ſquadron. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague firſt engaged, was ſo diſabled, that he was obliged to hoiſt his flag on board the St. George; while Tromp was for a like reaſon obliged to quit his ſhip, the Golden Lion, and go on board the Comet. The fight was renewed with the utmoſt fury by theſe valorous rivals, and by the Rear Admirals, their ſeconds. Oſſory, Rear Admiral to Sprague, was preparing to board Tromp, when he ſaw the St. George terribly torn, and in a manner diſabled. Sprague was leaving her in order to hoiſt his flag on board a third ſhip, and return to the charge; when a ſhot, which had paſſed through the St. George, took his

his boat, and ſunk her. The Admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himſelf, who beſtowed on his valour the deſerved praiſes. CHAP. LXV. 1673.

PRINCE Rupert found affairs in this dangerous ſituation, and ſaw moſt of the ſhips in Sprague's ſquadron diſabled from fight. The engagement was renewed, and became very cloſe and bloody. The Prince threw the enemy into great diſorder. To increaſe it, he ſent among them two fire-ſhips; and at the ſame time made a ſignal to the French to bear down, which if they had done, a total victory muſt have enſued. But the Prince, when he ſaw that they neglected his ſignal, and obſerved that moſt of his ſhips were in no condition to keep the ſea long, wiſely provided for their ſafety by making eaſy ſail towards the Engliſh coaſt. The victory in this battle was as doubtful, as in all the actions fought during the preſent war.

THE turn, which the affairs of the Hollanders took by land, was more favourable. The Prince of Orange beſieged and took Naerden; and from this ſucceſs gave his country reaſon to hope for ſtill more proſperous enterprizes. Montecuculi, who commanded the Imperialiſts on the Upper Rhine, deceived, by the moſt artful conduct, the vigilance and penetration of Turenne, and making a ſudden march, ſat down before Bonne. The Prince of Orange's conduct was no leſs maſterly; while he eluded all the French generals, and leaving them behind him, joined his army to that of the Imperialiſts. Bonne was taken in a few days: Several other places of the Electorate of Cologne fell into the hands of the allies: And the communication being thus cut off between France and the United Provinces, Lewis was obliged to recal his forces, and to abandon all his conqueſts, with greater rapidity than he

CHAP. LXV.

had at first made them. The taking Maestricht was the only advantage, which he gained this campaign.

1673.

A CONGRESS was opened at Cologne under the mediation of Sweden; but with small hopes of success. The demands of the two Kings were such as must have reduced the Hollanders to perpetual servitude. In proportion as the affairs of the States rose, the Kings sunk in their demands; but the States still sunk lower in their offers; and it was impossible for the parties ever to agree on any conditions. After the French evacuated Holland, the congress broke up; and the seizure of Prince William of Furstenburg by the Imperialists, afforded the French and English a good pretence for leaving Cologne. The Dutch ambassadors in their memorials expressed all the haughtiness and disdain, so natural to a free State, which had met with such unmerited ill usage.

Congress of Cologne.

THE Parliament of England was now assembled, and discovered much greater symptoms of ill humour, than had appeared in their last meeting. They had seen for some time a negotiation of marriage carried on between the Duke of York and the Archduchess of Inspruc, a catholic of the Austrian family; and they had made no opposition. But when that intention failed, and the Duke applied to a Princess of the house of Modena, then in close conjunction with France; this circumstance, joined to so many other grounds of discontent, raised the Commons into a flame; and they remonstrated with the greatest zeal against the intended marriage. The King told them, that their remonstrance came too late; and that the marriage was already agreed on, and even celebrated by proxy. The Commons still insisted; and proceeding to the examination of the other parts of government, they voted the

20th of October. A parliament.

ſtanding army to be a grievance, and declared, that they would grant no more ſupply, unleſs it appeared, that the Dutch were ſo obſtinate as to refuſe all reaſonable conditions. To cut ſhort theſe diſagreeable attacks, the King reſolved to prorogue the Parliament; and with that intention he came unexpectedly to the Houſe of Peers, and ſent the uſher to ſummon the Commons. It happened, that the ſpeaker and the uſher nearly met at the door of the houſe; but the ſpeaker being within, ſome of the members ſuddenly ſhut the door, and cried, *To the chair, to the chair*: while others cried, *The black-rod is at the door*. The ſpeaker was hurried to the chair; and the following motions were inſtantly made: That the alliance with France is a grievance; that the evil counſellors about the King are a grievance; that the Duke of Lauderdale is a grievance, and not fit to be truſted or employed. There was a general cry, *To the queſtion, to the queſtion*: But the uſher knocking violently at the door, the ſpeaker leaped from the chair, and the houſe roſe in great confuſion.

4th of November.

During the interval, Shafteſbury, whoſe intrigues with the malecontent party were now become notorious, was diſmiſſed from the office of Chancellor; and the ſeals were given to Sir Heneage Finch, under the title of Lord Keeper. The teſt had incapacitated Clifford; and the white ſtaff was conferred on Sir Thomas Oſborne, ſoon after created Earl of Danby, a miniſter of ability, who had riſen by his parliamentary talents. Clifford retired into the country, and ſoon after died.

The Parliament had been prorogued, in order to give the Duke leiſure to conſummate his marriage; but the King's neceſſities ſoon obliged him again to aſ-

1674.

7th of February.

ſemble

CHAP. LXV.

1674.

ſemble them; and by ſome popular acts he paved the way for the ſeſſions. But all his efforts were in vain. The diſguſt of the Commons was fixed on foundations too deep to be eaſily removed. They began with applications for a general faſt; by which they intimated, that the nation was in a very calamitous condition: They addreſſed againſt the King's guards, which they repreſented as dangerous to liberty, and even as illegal, ſince they had never yet received the ſanction of parliament: They took ſome ſteps towards eſtabliſhing a new and more rigorous teſt againſt popery: And what chiefly alarmed the court, they made an attack on the members of the cabal, to whoſe pernicious councils they juſtly imputed all their preſent grievances. Clifford was dead: Shafteſbury had made his peace with the country party, and was become their leader: Buckingham was endeavouring to imitate Shafteſbury; but his intentions were as yet known to very few. A motion was therefore made in the Houſe of Commons for his impeachment: He deſired to be heard at the bar; but expreſſed himſelf in ſo confuſed and ambiguous a manner, as gave little ſatisfaction. He was required to anſwer preciſely to certain queries, which they propoſed to him. Theſe queries regarded all the articles of miſconduct above-mentioned; and among the reſt, the following one ſeems remarkable. "By whoſe advice was the "army brought up to over-awe the debates and reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons?" This ſhews to what length the ſuſpicions of the houſe were at that time carried. Buckingham, in all his anſwers, endeavoured to exculpate himſelf, and to load Arlington. He ſucceeded not in the former intention: The Commons voted an addreſs for his removal. But Arlington, who was on many accounts obnoxious to the houſe,

was

was attacked. Articles were drawn up againſt him; though the impeachment was never proſecuted. CHAP. LXV. 1674.

THE King plainly ſaw, that he could expect no ſupply from the Commons for carrying on a war, which was ſo odious to them. He reſolved therefore to make a ſeparate peace with the Dutch, on the terms which they had propoſed through the canal of the Spaniſh ambaſſador. With a cordiality, which, in the preſent diſpoſition on both ſides, was probably but affected, but which was obliging, he aſked advice of the Parliament. The Parliament unanimouſly concurred, both in thanks for this gracious condeſcenſion, and in their advice for peace. Peace was accordingly concluded. The honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the moſt extenſive terms: A regulation of trade was agreed to: All poſſeſſions were reſtored to the ſame condition as before the war: The Engliſh planters in Surinam were allowed to remove at pleaſure: And the States agreed to pay to the King the ſum of eight hundred thouſand patacoons, near three hundred thouſand pounds. Four days after the Parliament was prorogued, the peace was proclaimed in London, to the great joy of the people. Spain had declared, that ſhe could no longer ſtand neuter, if hoſtilities were continued againſt Holland; and a great decay of trade was foreſeen, in caſe a rupture ſhould enſue with that nation. The proſpect of this loſs contributed very much to increaſe the national averſion to the preſent war, and to enliven the joy for its concluſion.

Peace with Holland.

28th of February.

THERE was in the French ſervice a large body of Engliſh to the number of ten thouſand men, which had acquired great honour in every action, and had contributed greatly to the ſucceſſes of Lewis. Theſe troops,

CHAP. LXV. 1674.

troops, Charles ſaid he was bound by treaty not to recall; but he obliged himſelf to the States by a ſecret article not to allow them to be recruited. His partiality to France prevented a ſtrict execution of this article.

END of the SEVENTH VOLUME.

20 JY 63

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